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THE SHORT, BROAD AND HIGH VIEWS

"You cannot see the woods for the trees" is a valuable proverb and has an important lesson for missionaries to Muslims. Like other religious workers, most missionaries deal directly with individuals and with local groups. Their contacts are personal and intimate. They know individuals and their problems. They know their own locality. They see the trees. Their time is so fully occupied with private concerns and the activities of their own institutions that broad social questions and national trends can receive little attention. They do not see the woods.

When the personal aspect of the missionary's service is so exclusively present and the larger viewpoint is neglected the result is unhappy. When converts are few the missionaries become discouraged. Where converts are numerous the missionaries are inclined to believe that they and their methods of work would be equally successful anywhere else. In both cases the conclusions are regrettable. The fact is that the larger view would reveal that elsewhere the circumstances are different.

To be concrete, Islam in Arabia, for instance, includes and dominates all of life. It controls the social, political, economic, cultural and religious aspects of the people's interests. Before an individual there could become a convert spiritually he had to be convinced intellectually that Christianity was the true religion. It was not infrequently possible to do this to some Arabs because their Quranic background gave them some basis for convincing argu-

ment. To others, especially women, the ethical and social superiority of Christianity made a strong appeal and they would often say, "Your religion is better than ours." It is probable that this admission usually meant, "Your way of life is better than ours," and it had little reference to the theological content of the two religions. Nevertheless such convictions very frequently did not bring about the transfer of allegiance to Christianity. Other elements involved in the change exercised restraint. At most, many of those who were intellectually and those who were ethically convinced of the superiority of Christianity became "secret believers" and their status puzzled and troubled the missionaries.

The meager success of missions in lands almost wholly Muslim is due to the greater task that the missionaries have to accomplish. They deal with individuals, but it is against the current of immediate, obvious and powerful community forces. The dominant sentiment opposes the change to Christianity. To see the problem in its social and historical relationships is to understand why so few become Christians for purely spiritual reasons. The new understanding will bring new encouragement and fresh faith.

But a still greater source of perplexity and concern for missionaries in the Near East is the fact that numbers of people there do change their religious status. It is for economic, political and social reasons that many Christians become Muslims and a smaller number of Muslims become members of Christian churches from the same motives. In Egypt every year hundreds of Copts enroll themselves as Muslims. It is not to be imagined that they do so because they have read the Qur'ān, studied Muslim theology, attended classes on Islam and have decided that the Christian religion is false and the other religion is true. The real reasons are rather dissatisfaction with local ecclesiastical authorities, the desire to secure positions in the government services or to become eligible husbands for Muslim women. In Iraq, however, when

it was under British administration, and the presence of great numbers of foreigners changed the circumstances of civil and commercial employment, it was sometimes necessary for the missionaries to restrain applicants who desired to become Christians because the transfer of allegiance obviously meant for them only or chiefly eligibility for jobs with the Christians. Similarly in India and to a greater extent in the East Indies, Islam and its culture do not control all the population. A change of religion does not mean loss of political standing because the government is not under Muslim law. Such a change may involve a different social and economic environment, but that may mean greater advantages and be attractive. Indeed, it seems that the number of transfers from Christianity to Islam is in direct proportion to the dominance of Muslim law and custom over all the departments of the life of a state or community. Conversely, as the *shari'ah* exercises decreasing control over the people the number of Muslims who have become Christians has been greater. Turkey is an exception to this statement, but extraordinary factors strongly influencing the time element have affected the situation there.

It is important to realize that the Muslim attitude toward such changes of allegiance is different from that of the Protestant Christian of the West. Where religion is a state concern and includes loyalty to the government, solidarity with the community, integration with the economic system and conformity to family and society traditions, the transfer to the state religion involves proportionately less of the spiritual element. From that standpoint therefore changes for unspiritual motives are natural, legitimate and commendable. Because changes are judged by the standards of the system, they involve no lowering of ideals and violate no canons of conscience for the Muslim.

It is difficult for those whose idea of the sphere of religion is different to appreciate the other attitude. Religion is a spiritual matter, they say. Its sphere is faith and

worship toward God and good works toward men. Its motives are other-worldly and unselfish. Its influence is not temporal, material or social, but rather inward and spiritual. For persons with such views the admixture of the worldly to the spiritual is pollution and the degradation of religion.

The problem is complicated by the fact that Christians of the West find that the Christians of the East in general accept the broader if lower idea of religion. The oldest groups of Christians in the world, whose interpretations of Christian doctrine and life have had the testimony of centuries of devotion, share Islam's view of the nature and scope of religion. Moreover among Western Christians there are many who do not separate church and state in their functions, who want the government to acknowledge a religious as well as secular scope, who would unite political and ecclesiastical activities.

It is not hard to appreciate the high motives of those who think that the government should be guided by religion. Moreover, it is difficult to reject the right of the early churches to their own understanding of Christianity. A sympathetic attitude toward such groups leads to respect for the Muslims who also combine religion and government. Missionaries to Muslims who believe that religion is spiritual, that its sphere and influence are spiritual and that its motives and means are spiritual, need to think of Islam in its historical relationship to other convictions about the character of religion. They will know better what is happening in individual cases and in particular areas when they see that Islam has the broad and inclusive view of the scope of religion. The sympathetic understanding of this aspect of Islam will produce respect, tolerance and patience, without in the least decreasing the desire to lead the Muslims to the faith and attitude that are higher and truer.

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THE 'ALIDS OF NORTH SYRIA

The modern traveller reaching the 'Alid district in the North of Syria finds himself in the Southern headquarters of the ancient Hittites, whoever they may have been. The inhabitants of this mountainous region, today called 'Alids but hitherto known as al-Nuṣayrīyah, are not recognized as orthodox by Islam, though, like all the smaller sects, they do their best to smooth away the outward differences between themselves and the dominant creed. They keep the tenets of their faith secret. Living apart in their mountain fastnesses, where they cultivate mainly the vine and tobacco, they have remained almost inviolate, holding on to the practices of ancient Semitic cults. In the eyes of Syriologists, they occupy an honorable position as the direct descendants of paganism. Native reports speak ill of their religion, following the invariable custom by which people whisper scandal of what they are not allowed to understand. Dussaud[1] has, however, washed away the stain that lay upon their faith; Miss Gertrude Bell[2] was led by her experience of their dealings with strangers to adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality toward them; and the Comte R. DeGontaut Biron,[3] speaking of Syrian affairs, after nine years of French Mandate, comments with praise on their fidelity to France. Next to the Druze people, this is the most interesting religious community in Syria. Their ethnic aloofness must be held responsible for the fact that the French authorities found easy the establishment of an autonomous régime in their midst, with the town of al-Lādhiqīyah (Latakia) as capital, though the district is now within the domain of the Syrian Republic.

[1] René Dussaud, *Histoire et Religion des Noṣairîs*, Paris, 1900.
[2] "Syria: The Desert and the Sown," New York, 1907, p. 175.
[3] *Sur Les Routes de Syrie*, Paris, 1928, pp. 23-41.

This study is an attempt to throw light on the Nuṣayrīyah, in whose domain the Rās al-Shamra tablets were discovered. Firstly, their history is considered as it unfolds their intimate connection with Shī'ism. Secondly, an examination is made of the fundamental elements of their religion. Thirdly, this system is viewed in the light of another movement, that of the Sufi illuministics.

I. *Historical Background of the Nuṣayris.*

The Nuṣayris are not only a sect; in contradistinction to the Druzes they are a homogeneous people established for centuries in the north of Syria. Their habitat is a massive mountain, Jabal al-Nuṣayrīyah, the Mt. Bargylus [4] of the Romans—a prolongation of Mt. Lebanon along the coast of the Mediterranean, facing the Island of Cyprus. The etymology of their name is disputed. Renan thought it a contemptuous diminutive from *Naṣrāni* (Christian), in allusion to certain ritualistic similarities. Others made the name a corruption of *Nazerini,* the Latin name in Pliny, [5] for a Syrian tetrarchy of the first century, near Edessa. The Syrian Jacobite Catholicos, abu al-Faraj ibn-al-'Ibri [6] (Barhebraeus 1226-86), the last classical author in Syriac literature, makes this name an adjectival suffix from Nāṣurāya, a village near al-Kūfah. Most probably, however, "Nuṣayri" is an adjectival form neither from a fictitious Shī'ite martyr, the son of 'Ali according to the 'Ali-Ilāhis, nor from a freedman of 'Ali's vizir or Mu'āwiyah, [7] but rather from ibn-Nuṣayr [8] of the end of the ninth century, a partisan of the eleventh *imām,* al Ḥasan al-'Askari (d. 874). The earliest important references to ibn-Nuṣayr and his followers occur in the manuscripts of Ḥamzah and other Druze polemicists of the early eleventh century. But as a matter of fact, the name Nuṣayri was adopted from the time of al-Khaṣībi (d. 857/8) by sectarians who previously had called themselves al-Namīrīyah. [9] This etymol-

[4] Pliny, "Natural History," Book V, 17.
[5] Book V, 19. Dussaud maintains this view.
[6] Dussaud, p. 10.
[7] Muḥammad ibn-Nuṣayr al-Namīri al-'Abdi (of the 'Abd-al-Qays, a Bakr tribe). This view is upheld by Guyard, Huart and Lammens.
[8] Philip K. Hitti, "History of the Arabs," London, 1937, p. 448.
[9] al-Nawbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah,* ed. Hellmut Ritter, Constantinople, 1931, p. 78.

ogy happens to agree with all the Moslem heresiographers, including the Shi'ite, ibn-al-Ghaḍā'iri (d. 1020/21) and the Sunnite, ibn-Ḥazm (994-1064), the most original thinker of Spanish Islam.

Vastly more obscure is the history of this people in antiquity. Upon the arrival of Alexander the Great in Syria, all the territory occupied today by the Nuṣayris was related to the Phoenician kingdom of Arad. For centuries after the Alexandrian conquest the inhabitants of this region, even after the fall of Arad, preserved the vestiges of the same civilization which had flourished there, with its traditions and beliefs. They preserved their paganism in spite of the triumph of Christianity. In the course of time, the Nuṣayris, under the influence of the Ismā'īlis, became religiously evolved and partook of an Islamic affiliation, just as their contacts with the Byzantines and the Crusaders had endowed them with new creeds and practices, largely Christian.

Toward the middle of the thirteenth century, the Nuṣayris faced the darkest period of their recorded history. Baybars (1260-77), the fourth sultan of the Baḥri Mamlūk dynasty of Egypt, having successfully harassed the Franks, established himself in Syria and destroyed the supremacy of the Ismā'īlis. He tried to force orthodox Islam upon the Nuṣayris. But conditions changed; following the conquest of Syria by the Ottoman Salīm I (1512-20), a central Imperial Government with headquarters at Constantinople had made easy the emergence of petty potentates all along the eastern Mediterranean. Then did the Nuṣayris recover their time-honored autonomy. When in 1831 Ibrāhīm Pāsha, son of Muḥammad 'Ali the viceroy of Egypt, arrived in the country, the Nuṣayris were ruled by native overlords who paid tribute to the Pāsha of Tripoli. The population was divided into tribes, or *'ashīrahs,* often warring together. The last local chief was Ismā'īl Bey who arose among them in the middle of the nineteenth century. By paying an annual tribute he enjoyed absolute authority and became the hero of legends far more ancient than himself. After his as-

sassination in 1858 the Turkish Government succeeded in establishing its direct administration in the land, the result of which was persecution and ruin. Considered infidel and renegade by the Turks, the Nuṣayris were subjected to all forms of injustice at the hands of their rulers. Since practically all of them were members of the agricultural class, their name became synonymous with *fallāḥ,* peasant. Bowed down by heavy taxation and humiliation, this venerable people reached such a level of degradation that they began to cultivate the land only to the extent of meeting their minimum requirements.

The history of the Nuṣayris as a sect can be traced into traditions pinned to chains of authorities; these traditions go back from al-Khaṣībi to ibn-Nuṣayr through two intermediaries: Muḥammad ibn-Jundub and Muḥammad al-Jannān al-Junbulāni. Concerning ibn-Nuṣayr, a notable of al-Baṣrah, we know that he proclaimed himself the *bāb* (door) of the tenth Shī'ite *imām,* 'Ali al-Hādi (868), and of his oldest son Muḥammad, who died before him. But from al-Khaṣībi we learn that ibn-Nuṣayr joined the eleventh *imām,* al-Hasan al-'Askari, and took for his *mahdi* the latter's son Muḥammad ibn-Ḥasan. Of the two successors of ibn-Nuṣayr we only know that the second, like al-Khaṣībi, belonged to Junbulah, between al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ, the center of the Zanj and Qarmatian rebels. [10] The real founder of the Nuṣayri sect is al-Ḥusayn ibn-Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībi (d. 957 or 968), whose tomb in the north of Aleppo is called al-Shaykh Baqraq. Like his patrons the Ḥamdānids, he lived between al-Kūfah and Aleppo. Among his fifty-one disciples the best-known is Muḥammad ibn-'Ali al-Jilli, of al-Jillīyah, near Antioch, where the chief of the Ḥaydari branch of the Nuṣayris still lives. His direct disciple was Sa'īd Maymūn al Ṭabarāni (d. 1035), a prolific polemicist against the chief of the Isḥāqīyah of al-Lādhiqīyah, abu-Dahībah Ismā'īl ibn-Khallād. After Sa'īd, mention is made of 'Iṣmat-al-Dawlah Ḥātim Tawbāni (d. *ca.* 1300), author of *al-Risālah al-Qubrusīyah,* and of

[10] Al-Ṭabari, III, pp. 1517, 1925, 2198; al-Mas'ūdi, *al-Tanbīh,* p. 391.

Ḥasan al-Ajrūd of 'Ānah (+ 1432 in Latakia). Several other chiefs are recalled: Muḥammad ibn-Yūnus al-Kalāzi (d. 1602), who lived near Antioch, 'Ali Mākhūsi, Nāṣir Nayṣafi, and Yūsuf al-'Ubaydi. The four alleged Nuṣayri sects reduce themselves to two: that of the North, the Shamsīyah, and that of the South, al-Qamarīyah. The spiritual organization, however, is quite distinct from the political. The four Muqaddams [11] mentioned by Niebuhr in 1780 were temporal rulers. In 1914 there were two spiritual leaders: the Baghsibāshis in Cilicia and the Khādim Ahl al-Bayt at Qardāḥdah. In 1933 appeared Sulaymān al-Aḥmad of the Numaylatīyah. Since 1920 the Ja'fari Shī'ite *qāḍis* of the south have found their way among the Nuṣayris. About 1926 Sulaymān Murshid, [12] a shepherd of the 'Amāmirah, has been trying to found a new sect to the north of Maṣyāf.

II. *Elements of the Nuṣayri Religion*

A study of the Nuṣayri literature, for which the *Kitāb al-Majmū'* [13] is the main source, makes possible the reconstruction of their doctrines in outline, as well as their religious relation to their neighbors, back to the days of ancient Syrian cults. With these cults the Nuṣayri religion has close associations, and they will continue to thrive in its religious body unless Islam finally absorbs the whole system. Probably no Nuṣayri religion would have survived if it were not for the emergence within its own confines of various sects offering fresh interpretation thereof.

Time is divided, according to the sect, into seven cycles, [14] resembling the doctrine of the pagan Ḥarrānians; each cycle corresponding to a manifestation of the divinity. This division of time depends on the old astronomic conception which fixed the number of the days of the week at seven,

[11] At Bahlūlīyah, al-Khawābi, Ṣāfīta and al-Kalbīyah.

[12] He figures prominently in the present politics of the Nuṣayris, who, ever since 1936, when France declared her intention to replace the mandate in Syria and Lebanon by treaties, have been trying to secure an autonomous status for their region. He has been called *al-Rabb* (Lord) by his followers.

[13] Ed. and tr. in Dussaud *Histoire et Religion des Noṣairis*, Paris, 1900, pp. 161-98. It is the prayerbook of the sect as well as the source of religious instruction. No record is preserved of its authorship, but in spite of the traditional attempts to attribute it to al-Khaṣībi or to the Prophet Muḥammad, it might be safely conjectured that the work was derived from Ismā'īli writings.

[14] Cf. De Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion de Druzes*, tome I: p. ccccIxxi.

each ruled by one of the seven planets. According to Ismā'īli teaching, in each one of these seven periods there shall appear a *nāṭiq* (utterer) charged with the task of introducing a new religion. Following him are to come seven inferior prophets confirming his message, of whom the first is called *asās* (foundation). These cycles explained the coming of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as *nāṭiqs*. After Muḥammad, according to the Ismā'īlis, came 'Ali as his *asās*.

The messianic idea of the Ismā'īlis met with but little success among the Nuṣayris. Yet the astral cult took root and the systems using seven as a basis multiplied and subsequently became an institution. In a sense, however, Ismā'īli missionaries must have labored in vain, for the Nuṣayri institution based on seven cycles is completely different from theirs and can be traced to more ancient antecedents. To the Nuṣayris, for example, the seventh cycle will not be characterized by the appearance of a *mahdi,* but rather by the divine advent of 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib.

Another modification of the Ismā'īli religion was the extraordinary significance attached to the name of 'Ali. The Ismā'īlis had maintained that 'Ali, the *asās* of Muḥammad, was not only entrusted with the words of the latter, but that he was also the hidden meaning, *al-ma'na,* personifying the symbolism that gave birth to a new order. The Nuṣayris, like other heterodox sects, exaggerated the significance which attached to the name of 'Ali to the point of apotheosis. As a result all the *foundations* in the Nuṣayri system took precedence over the *naṭiqs* and became divine incarnations.

The value of the term *al-ma'na* developed a peculiar connotation with the Nuṣayris. Its relation to 'Ali is comparable to the Christian relation of the *logos* idea to Jesus. The whole Nuṣayri system is sometimes referred to as *al-Ma'nawīyah.*[15] The development of this concept is bound up with the misfortunes which befell 'Ali and his descendants. The torture they received at the hands of the Umayyads and the persecutions to which they were subjected enlisted

[15] Dussaud, pp. 46-7; *Kitāb al-Majmū'*, sūrah 6; Stanislas Guyard, in *Journal Asiatique*, 6 sér. tome 18, p. 179.

on their side the sympathy of the oppressed elements in the Moslem world. In Persia, far from Damascus, the seat of the caliphate, 'Alid propaganda assumed menacing proportions. Islam, after its rapid diffusion, fell prey to a veritable anarchy. It faced the assaults of innumerable sects, including the Mu'tazilites, the Murjites, the Shī'ites and the Khārijites, which gave rise successively to many schismatic bodies professing beliefs at distinct variance with the Koran. New prophets made their appearance. Some were recognized as the Messiah, others were deified. Orthodox Islam was infuriated; it martyred these false apostles, burning and crucifying them. But the faithful, who claimed to have seen them ascend heavenward, awaited their return with an even firmer faith.[16]

The Nuṣayris had been pagan and without organization for ages. They represent a remarkable case of people passing directly from paganism to Ismā'īlism. But the transformation was not complete; in reality a new religion was created. Its most pronounced features were the beliefs attendant to the legend of 'Ali. For the Nuṣayris failed to reach the level of philosophic speculation evolved by the Ismā'īlis; and they arrived at the conception of a unique God, not an abstract divinity possessing attributes, as the Ismā'īlis asserted, which was hidden behind Muḥammad. 'Ali, the incarnation of the Universal Soul, the Emanation of God, became to them God himself.

In addition to the formula, 'Ali is God (*'Ali Allāh*), they accepted another: 'Ali is the Most High (*'Ali al-A'la*).[17] Thus the Nuṣayris became a group of the so-called *Ghulāh*,[18] with whom Moslem authors confused them. Like the *Ghulāh*, they preserved various legends and local cults beneath the veil of Shī'ite doctrine. 'Ali and his sons, whether in India, North Africa, or the Nuṣayri mountain, became a new symbol under which the half-converted Moslems pre-

[16] Ibn-Ḥazm, one of the greatest champions of orthodoxy, has left us a colorful tableau of these heresies. See Schreiner, in *ZDMG*, 1899, p. 466-7.

[17] An ancient conception referred to by a Druze writer on "the manifestation of the divinity in human form"; consult De Sacy, *Exposé*, vol. I, pp. 31-2. The Koran makes no mention of *'Ali al-A'la*, but this epithet may recall the ancient form *'Elyūn*, of which the Greek equivalent is ὑψιστος and which seems to have designated in particular the Phoenician god known to us by the Greek name Adonis. Some Nuṣayris did identify 'Ali with heaven.

[18] Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination Arab*, Amsterdam, 1894, pp. 4 *seq.*

served the adoration of their ancient deities.[19] But there were various orders of the *Ghulāh.* Among the Persians it assumed the form of recognizing 'Ali's greatest title to divinity in the legitimate caliphate. He was the Commander-of-the-Faithful *par excellence,* and Persian tradition justified the attributing of divinity to the sovereign.[20] But here, also, the title of legitimate caliph meant little to the Nuṣayris; unlike the Persian, with whom a religious movement always has an overriding political counterpart, their conception was limited to the religious aspect.

The Nuṣayri deification of 'Ali has had far-reaching politico-religious influence, detectable in (a) the adoration of Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim (996-1021), who, aided by his minister Ḥamzah, might have drawn on the Nuṣayri belief in divine incarnation in the formulation of Druze religion;[21] (b) Nuṣayri precedent in the adoration of 'Ali has more certainly inspired the idea of the divinity of Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, (1192) the famous Ismā'īli chief who resided in the Nuṣayri hills, under whom the Ismā'īli doctrine underwent a transformation. It is even likely that he himself was of Nuṣayri birth.[22]

In this conception of 'Ali, the Nuṣayris naturally renounced Moslem traditions relative to him as the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. To them 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib begat not nor was he begotten.[23] He was a light engendered by light, the essence of essence, immortal and unique.[24] He knows the innermost secrets and is omnipresent; his light radiates from his essence and all illumination proceeds from him.[25] He crushes the rocks, pushes back the seas and directs all events. He is the cause of all causes; he brings about annihilation to nations, he is the end of all aspirations, the purpose of purposes.[26] He destroyed idols as he destroyed the centuries. He is hidden

[19] Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien,* vol. II, pp. 330 *seq.*
[20] It was with this in mind that the Rāwandis proclaimed the deity of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, who, when he rejected the honor, forfeited the title to sovereignty, in their eyes.
[21] Ḥamzah wrote a treatise in which he tried to refute the Nuṣayri doctrine and show that the true incarnation of the Deity was not 'Ali but al-Ḥākim.
[22] Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. III, p. 275.
[23] Application to 'Ali of Koran 112:3.
[24] *Kitāb al-Majmū',* sūrah 14.
[25] *Ibid.,* sūrah 1.
[26] *Kitāb al-Majmū',* sūrah 1.

yet revealed, hidden by the nature of his divine essence, but not enveloped.[27] He is the meaning (*al-ma'na*). Publicly he is the *Imām,* secretly he is God.[28]

The divinity of 'Ali is the most dominant character of the Nuṣayri faith. The formula used in prayer is patterned after the Moslem *Shahādah*: "I testify that there is no other God than 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib."[29] With 'Ali as God, they sought to support him with other personages. He created the Lord Muḥammad of his own light, and he called him the Name (*al-ism*). Muḥammad, furthermore was the Veil (*al-Hijāb*), behind which 'Ali is hidden. Completing the trinity was Salmān al-Fārisi, the Door (*al-Bāb*), created by Muḥammad. Thus 'Ali being God, Muḥammad and Salmān became his more direct emanations. Be it said, however, that this trinity does not seem to be related to Christianity;[30] rather is it perhaps an adaptation to local cults.[31] It is reminiscent of the ancient triads of Syria and Phoenicia. This connection ought to become clearer if and when the symbol called the mystery (*sirr*) of *'Ayn-Mīm-Sīn*[32] (the initial letter of each one of the three names) has been clarified.

Salmān al-Fārisi is the creator of the Five Incomparables:[33] Al-Miqdād ibn-Aswad al-Kindi, abu-al-Dharr al-Ghifāri, 'Abdullāh ibn-Rawāḥah al-Anṣāri, 'Uthmān ibn-Maṭ'ūn al-Najāshi and Qanbar ibn-Kādān al-Dawsi.[34] To these five fell the task of creating the world.[35] In addition, there were the Five Chosen, to whom are consecrated the five[36] daily prayers. To Muḥammad is offered the midday prayer, to Fāṭimah, also called Fāṭir, the afternoon prayer,

[27] *Op. cit.,* sūrahs 1 and 14.
[28] *Op. cit.,* sūrah 6.
[29] *Op. cit.,* sūrah 11.
[30] Henri Lammens, (*Les Noṣairīs, Études religieuses,* 1899, and "Au pays des Noṣairis," in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,* 1899, pp. 572 *seq.;* 1900 pp. 99 *seq.*) tried to point out the influence of Christian doctrines on the Nuṣayri religion. While admitting that next-door Christianity must have left some influence, and allowing for the popularity with some scholars of the idea of religious syncretism, one must recall that the Nuṣayris were never converted to Christianity.
[31] Dussaud, p. 64.
[32] *al-Bākūrah,* p. 3.
[33] *Kitāb al-Majmū',* sūrah 5—*Al-Aytām al-Khamsah.*
[34] Sulaymān al-Adhani, *Kitāb al-Bākūrah,* Beirut, 1863, p. 20. An English translation almost complete, Edward Salisbury in *JAOS,* vol. VIII, New Haven, 1866, pp. 227-308.
[35] *Kitāb al-Majmū',* sūrah 5.
[36] *Al-Bākūrah,* p. 12. The number of the five prayers was adopted by the Moslems, though the Prophet only prescribed three. *cf.* Goldziher, *ZDMG,* 1899, p. 385-6, Blochet, "Etude sur l'histoire relig. de l'Iran," in *Revue de l'Histoire de Religion,* 1899, vol. II, p. 3.

to al-Ḥusayn the evening prayer, and to Muḥsin the dawn prayer.

This grouping of personages around 'Ali corresponds to the seven divine apparitions. The *Kitāb al-Bākūrah* describes these seven apparitions.[37] All Nuṣayris, according to their belief, were at the beginning of the world luminant lights and radiant spheres of non-corporeal nature. They saw 'Ali in the color of the sapphire. When they doubted what he was, 'Ali appeared to them in a different aspect; this led to the creation of the inferior world (*al-dār al-suflānīyah*), into which he precipitated them. Because of this disobedience, he also created the Devils (*al-abālisah*) and the Satans, and from the sins of the first he made women.

Thus the Nuṣayri system projected two worlds, the superior one from which man fell, and the inferior. The former consists of seven degrees corresponding to the seven heavens of the Koran,[38] whereas the seven degrees of the lower world correspond to the seven earths. To each of the seven worlds were attached seven divine apparitions.[39]

Metempsychosis is one of the dogmas of the Nuṣayris, but it differs from that held by the Ismā'īlis.[40] The faithful is transformed seven times before he goes to take his rank among the stars, of which 'Ali is the prince. If he is blameworthy, he is reborn as a Christian or a Moslem, until expiation is complete. Infidels who have not worshipped 'Ali, live again in the form of dogs, camels, mules, asses or sheep.[41]

III. *Parallel Nuṣayri and Sufi Ideas.*

The Moslem school of mysticism known as *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*[42] (Wisdom of Illumination) bears some close re-

[37] pp. 59-61.
[38] 28:88.
[39] Dussaud, pp. 74-5.
[40] The doctrine of Re-incarnation, that is the passage of the human soul from one body to another, was developed by the Shi'ites chiefly among the Ismā'īlis. Al-Shahrastāni, *al-Milal w-al-Niḥal*, attributes the doctrine to Indian rather than Pythagorean influence, but it is pointed out that those Islamic sects which adopted the doctrine were undoubtedly acquainted with the teaching of Greek philosophers; Margaret Smith, art. "The Doctrine of Re-incarnation in Islamic Literature," in *The Aryan Path*, vol. iv, no. 1, Bombay, 1933, p. 33.
[41] René Basset, art. "Nuṣairis," in *Ency. of Rel. and Eth.*
[42] See Edward J. Jurji, "Illumination in Islamic Mysticism," Princeton, 1938.

semblance to the Nuṣayri system.[43] Illumination, with which abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191) and ibn-'Arabi are largely associated, was undoubtedly steeped in the syncretistic philosophy of Hellenism which reached the Near Orient in the form of Neo-Platonic, Hermetic[44] and allied speculations. In the main, the doctrine of *al-Ishrāq* is based upon a spiritualistic philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge. God and the world of spirits were usually interpreted as light, and our process of cognition as illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirit of the spheres. This philosophy of revelation has influenced Moslem thought immensely; the course it took in Moslem Spain left a lasting mark on Christian Europe. The most characteristic feature of Ishrāqi Sufism is the metaphysics of illumination.[45] It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of all things. Through the symbol of *ishrāq* proof is found for living, moving and being—all are light—even the very existence of God is light.[46] In their study of illumination, which is one of the most interesting in the history of Sufism, the Ishrāqis used a special nomenclature based on the use of metaphoric terms. "Light-darkness" thus symbolized the highest and the lowest in the realm of the metaphysical, that is, spirit and matter, good and evil. The superior intellects issue from God and are called "lights." God is himself the "Light of lights." The diffusion of this ideal light from its primary source illumines the world of darkness. Plotinus (*ca.* A.D. 203-270) had already called this diffusion "irradiation," which corresponds to the Arabic word *ishrāq*. But if we must trace *ishrāq* to Neo-Platonism, we should remember the Oriental character of the latter which is apparent in the dualism of light and darkness and in the metaphors drawn from astral

[43] This parallelism has for one of its objectives the attempt to show that certain well-defined features bind Shī'ism with Sufism, in spite of the oft-referred to hostility between the two groups.

[44] Consult T. J. deBoer, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxvii, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 8-15.

[45] On the metaphysics of light see Clemens Baeumker, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1908, pp. 357 *seq.*

[46] Consult Muḥammad Iqbal, "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia," London, 1908, pp. 121 *seq.*

worship. The parentage of illumination is twofold, Greek and Persian: Plotinus [47] and Māni [48]—Neo-Platonic and Zoroastrian.

In the Nuṣayri doctrine parallels to Illuministic mysticism [49] may be pointed out under the three headings of (a) initiation, (b) theory of revelation, and (c) cosmogony and eschatology.

The process of initiation among the Nuṣayris bears some marked resemblances to Sufism in general and to the Illuministic movement in particular. In this initiation there are three degrees: *najīb, naqīb, imām.* The first consists of a solemn pledge to reveal nothing of this spiritual marriage (*nikāḥ al-samā'*) in which the word of the initiator fertilizes the soul of the initiate in three seances, the ritual of which is related to that of the other extreme Shī'ite sects and through them and the Sabians of Ḥarrān to the old mysteries of Central Asia. The initiatory teaching is essentially an ultra-Shī'ite symbolism of the seven canonical rites of Islam, which are personified. The Koran is an initiation to devotion to 'Ali; it was Salmān al-Fārisi (under the name of Jibrā'īl) who taught it to Muḥammad. The hierarchy is parallel to the Sufi *Quṭb, Abdāl* and *Awtād.*

The pure divinity, the object of adoration, being ineffable, his first emanation is the Name (*Ism*), the articulating prophetic voice (*nāṭiq*), and the signification (*al-ma'na*) of divine authority. Such was the original teaching of abu-al-Khaṭṭāb, the common teacher of the Ismā'īlis and the Nuṣayris. But his disciple Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, thinking that the enunciation by the divinity of an object which manifests him is of greater importance than its significance, which is a mere idea, detached the *ma'na* from pure divinity, identified it with the silent (*ṣāmit*) *imām,* opposed to *nāṭiq,* and placed it as a mere accident, below the substance, the *Ism.* The other followers of abu-al-Khaṭṭāb, retaining the equation *ma'na=ṣāmit,* reestablished the *ma'na* before the

[47] See W. R. Inge, "The Philosophy of Plotinus," London, 1918, pp. 113-121.
[48] A. V. Williams Jackson, "Zoroastrian Studies," New York, 1928, pp. 174-5, 187-93.
[49] It may be observed, here, that the Shī'ites in the third Moslem century condemned all calls to the mystic life as introducing among believers a kind of unusual life finding expression in the search for a state of grace (*riḍā'*) dispensing with devotion to the twelve Imāms and an apostolate contrary to the Imāmi tradition; consult Louis Massignon, art. "Taṣawwuf" in *Ency. of Islam.*

Ism. And, as abu-al-Khaṭṭāb had taught that in the cycles of Muḥammad, the signification (*al-ma'na*) of the ineffable divinity was expressed through five privileged names: Muḥammad, 'Ali, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, announced as equivalent to its mysterious unity. This group of five became in the hands of his pupil Maymūn a descending series of five terrestrial terms. But 'Ali being thought of as superior was identified against all logic with the *ma'na.* The mode of appearance of the divine emananations was localized behind the screen of a phantom-like body. This body is the support of a momentary illumination for the Nuṣayri believer who holds it to be a reality; while for the Druze nominalism it is only a mirage (*sarāb*) and for the *Ishrāqis,* a real body, transfigured by a gradual sanctification.

According to the Nuṣayris there is immediately below the ineffable divinity a spiritual world of heavenly beings or stars, which emanate from him in a hierarchical fashion: *Ism, Bāb* and the other ranking personages (*ahl al-marātib*). This is the "great luminous world" (*al-'ālam al-kabīr al-nūrāni*). When these bodies appear here below it is in order to lead back to heaven "the little luminous world," fallen beings, half-materialized, imprisoned in the bodies which are their tombs. This operation revives them and brings them back to form the last seven classes of the *ahl-al-marātib.* Next comes the "little world of darkness"—*al-'ālam al-ẓulmāni,* extinguished lights, souls that damnation materializes (*qumṣān al-musūkhīyah*) in the bodies of women and animals. Lastly comes the "great world of darkness" composed of all the adversaries (*aḍḍād*) of the great luminous world; demons, who after innumerable metamorphoses, in corpses of murdered men or slaughtered animals still quivering after death, are reduced to inert or passive matter. Just as the fall takes place through seven stages, so does the return to the heaven of the elect go through seven cycles, or *adwār* of divine emanations.

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THE BENGAL CHURCH AND THE CONVERT

Bengal is the most populous of all the provinces of India, having one sixth of the whole population. Muhammadans, Hindus, Animists and Christians are the major communities, and they number 51,848,290 in all, including native states. Of these fifty-six per cent. are Muslims, forty-three per cent. Hindus and the rest only one per cent. The total number of Indian Christians in Bengal is 132,464 and the total number of Protestant Christians 63,735. There are five political divisions in the Province, and the Hindu-Muslim and Christian population is distributed division by division for brevity's sake as follows:

	Total Population	Christian
Burdwan Division	8,647,189	13,984
Presidency Division	10,108,229	17,853
Rajshahi	11,429,018	2,609
Dacca	13,864,104	14,829
Chittagong	6,826,414	11,692
Bengal States	973,336	2,768
	51,848,290	63,735

With regard to Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, it is safe to say that the percentage of Muslims is about seventy, and in some districts it runs over ninety.

The census of 1931 records this interesting conclusion:

"The Hindu population has passed the point at which the rate of increase accelerates in successive decades and is approaching a stationary population, whereas the Muslim population has not yet progressed so far along the present cycle of growth, but will ultimately be to the Hindus as 4:3."

Bengal has about two million primitive-tribes people, although all do not profess a primitive religion. The depressed classes have sixty-two castes and number nearly seven million. The province is well under the average

occupation by missionaries, and, with from nine to ten missionaries to each million people, it is the worst occupied large province in India. When looked at from the viewpoint of geographical distribution, it is still worse. The Protestant Christian population has increased only thirteen and seven-tenths per cent. in ten years, which, when compared with the average for India of forty-one per cent. is very small and amounts to only the natural increase. Such is the Bengal Church today.

The bulk of the Christian community has come from the depressed classes, mainly as a result of group movements that took place about a hundred years ago in the districts of 24-Parganas, Dacca, Nadia, Bakergunge, and Faridpur, and are almost wholly of Hindu extraction; there was also a group movement among a section of Muslims in the districts of Nadia, Khulna and Rajshahi, where whole villages or parts of villages became Christians. But these movements were arrested, due to various reasons, chief among which were competition between different Mission societies and unwise handling of the situation by individual missionaries, and they did not develop any further. But all the time converts from Islam have been joining the Christian Church in every district occupied by Christian Missions in Bengal, individually or by families, and within the last ten years a whole village of about one hundred Muslims has joined the Christian Church in Sylhet. The work is still developing, and what has happened in Sylhet may happen in other parts of Bengal. Thus the proportion of converts from Islam in Bengal Church is not altogether negligible. Some are men of high character and devoted ability, and are ornaments to any society.

It is regrettable at the same time to mention here that many families in the district of Jessore and a whole village in Rajshahi have gone back to Islam. Bengal contains 25,300,000 Muslims, being one third of the total Muslim population of India, yet in a Church of 63,000 Protestant Christians, converts from Islam with their descendants

will not number more than about four thousand, although Christian work has been going on here for nearly one hundred fifty years. Is this satisfactory?

As a convert from Islam, I am grateful to the missionaries for the work that has been done among Muslims, but may I ask—Is the result at all commensurate with the labor expended and the attendant cost?

Lack of satisfactory results may be attributed to the following among other reasons:—

(1) That the Andrew method was not followed by the missionary in the task of Muslim evangelization. St. Andrew lived with Jesus for one day and then went out and brought his brother Peter to Him. Converts who came to the missionaries were not sent back to their families, to their relatives, to their villages, to proclaim the love of the Lord to them. Missionary work has been guided often with human wisdom and human calculations, considerations of loss and profit, safety and danger, comfort and discomfort, convenience and inconvenience. Will you pardon a personal reference here? I was baptized in the morning and sent off to Calcutta, a distance of five hundred miles from my home, by the evening train. And why? Because the missionary who baptized me was afraid that personal injury might come to me and there was the risk of the mission bungalow being burnt down by Muslims of the place, as they predominated there. Agreed, this had been done once before. It might have been done on this occasion as well. What would the Mission have lost? Perhaps ten thousand rupees. But do you know the loss I suffered and how the cause of Christ suffered thereby? It took me ten years to prove the *bona fides* of my intention to my Muslim friends, and I have been put out of touch with my own people for the past twenty years. Where the convert has been allowed to stay with his own people or has had the courage of his conviction to stay among his own people and has been prepared to face persecution for a time, the result has been beyond all calculation—one man leading one hundred people to Christ

within ten years. Thus this uprooting of converts from their natural environment has been a serious hindrance to the propagation of Christianity amongst Bengali Muslims.

2. That the Church from the beginning has not been sending her apostles.

St. Paul in the tenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans writes:

"Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?"

Sent by whom? By the Church. I feel that the missionaries forget an obvious fact. Although they were sent by churches, church-consciousness did not dominate their thoughts and actions in the mission fields but mission-consciousness. In most cases, they cannot forget the fact of their missionary status, but often forget that they are also members of the church on an equal footing with indigenous Christians. They have turned their attention more to the question of evangelizing non-Christians than to that of upbuilding the church. The result is that there is very little genuine enthusiasm for evangelism in the Bengal Church. When the church does not work to win converts, naturally it does not feel interested in them when they are brought by Mission agents. Converts find themselves strangers in the church. Under such circumstances the members of the church are often without reason suspicious of them. I cannot conclude this better than by quoting this sentence from *The People of the Mosque*—"No church will ever be prepared to take care of a harvest until it takes part in winning that harvest." The primary task, then, of the non-Indian missionary today, is to raise up native leadership in the church—leadership, not a question of office but of personal initiative.

3. That the missionaries, by their standard of material comfort, have helped to foster a materialistic outlook in the church rather than give the convert a real sense of his communion with God in Christ.

"We need a radical recall to a true sense of values at this point. We do not seek people of good character for the sake of gaining a prosperous material society. We seek a reasonably secure and prosperous level of material life, in order that people may be free to enjoy communion with God. Apart from such communion there can be no contentment of character. This is not a pietistic phrase; it is a purely accurate description of fact. We may seek to satisfy the cravings of our hearts with lesser pleasures; for a time we may dull them and seem to meet them; their final satisfaction is only found in the enjoyment of those deeper spiritual pleasures for which our souls are made. The immoral life always has in it elements of strain and tension, which show themselves in an inner discontent. Only if we become Christian, that is, people whose souls are built into fellowship with Christ, shall we attain the full satisfaction of the inner hunger of our souls. Yet this is still not quite right. We do not become religious for the sake of our contentment. In such a view there are clearly lingering elements of selfishness. The motive of evangelism is not that people should feel contented, but that the will of God should be done. The goal is that men and women should be caught up into obedience to God, and become instruments for His purpose on earth. Moreover, it is precisely this that is the answer to our cravings. Deepest of all our deeds is the need to remove the sense of frustration and uselessness in the world. It is precisely in the knowledge that there is a purpose over us and beyond us, and in the selfless obedience to that purpose, that our discontent disappears and we feel that our lives are now of value. In giving to God His worth in worship and in that alone, our own lives become things of worth."

Is the life of our church characterized by such deep spiritual outlook?

4. That the missionary's life of isolation has been a contributing factor to the lack of results among Muslims in Bengal. In saying this I am not the least unmindful of the great sacrifices they make in their own way, in undergoing the rigors of uncomfortable foreign climates, in the loss of the immediate fellowship of their family, the loss of the fellowship of colleagues in their own life of work, etc. I hope they will pardon me for speaking from the depth of my heart when I think of the fact that twenty-five million Muslims in Bengal or eighty million in India are so poor without the life Christ came to give to all. If the missionaries are here to save the lives of Muslims,

then they cannot save their own. "He saved others, Himself He cannot save" expresses a spiritual truth of deepest significance. If the Lord had to give His divine life, can we do otherwise? No effective evangelism can be done without winning the confidence of the people and their friendships, and we cannot do that unless we can truly identify ourselves with their life and interests, and I hold that to do this we must go and live right among them. We can do no better than read the fifteenth chapter of John's Gospel to see the full cost of our friendship with Jesus. Hear what the Lord says to His disciples.

"As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love. If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love. These things have I spoken unto you that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full. This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you."

Am I wrong if I say that mission bungalows are often a partition wall between the hearts of the people and the missionaries? The time has come when they must be left open to the people around, for creative activities. Love is that which does not count its own and it gives up voluntarily its own rights and privileges to be of help to those who are needy. If we love the Muslims, we will not count any sacrifice too great.

5. Disunion and denominationalism are a real hindrance to the coming of God's kingdom in Bengal as elsewhere. The church in the district of 24-Parganas came into being under God's grace as the result of a group movement more than a hundred years ago, but today it does not number more than six thousand members. The London Missionary Society in Bengal asked Bishop Pickett to conduct an enquiry into the causes of this arrested movement. His enquiry revealed that the beginning of the movement was a thrilling story. A leader of a group of depressed classes brought two thousand members with him

into the Congregational Church. Then the Anglican missionaries entered upon the scene and began to tell these people who were babes in Christ that *their* doctrines were right and everything else was wrong, and therefore they must join the Anglican Church for their salvation, and this brought about a split. Then the Baptists and Methodists also followed suit and the whole church was divided into four sections. When the house was divided against itself it became weak, and the Roman Catholic fathers were quick to reap their quota of the harvest. Thus we see that denominational rivalry was the root cause that put a stop to the growth of this vigorous promising church. The lesson is obvious that organic union of the churches is a condition precedent to any abiding success in the field of evangelization and sincere cooperation and a right spirit of tolerance must replace the competitive spirit.

6. Unequal distribution of Christian forces.—The work of Missions must continue to be pioneering as it has always been in the past. For a long time there will also be need for representatives of the non-Indian churches to share the best of their heritage by coming to live in India. And as it is impossible to occupy the whole field effectively, missions ought to make the best of their resources in men and money in the strategic positions. The Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burmah and Ceylon records that there are 166 men missionaries, 100 wives (most of whom may not be counted as full-time workers) and 191 women missionaries working in Bengal. They are stationed mostly in the District and Sub-Divisional headquarters, in spite of the fact that Bengal lives in her villages. Of these 527 missionaries, Calcutta alone with a population of 1,300,000 against 52,000,000 of the whole province claims 171 missionaries, whereas the whole of North and East Bengal, which contains the largest block of Muslims in the world, has only 177 missionaries. If you leave out Darjeeling, which is not a Bengali-speaking district, you have only 135 missionaries

to work among twenty-five million Muslims. What do you think of this situation?

Over against this rather gloomy side of the picture, there is a bright side as well. There is an open door and splendid opportunity everywhere today to present the Gospel message to the Muslims in Bengal. Recently the Committee on work among Muslims of the Bengal Christian Council arranged for a team of converts from Islam to witness to the Muslims. The Committee selected my area and asked me to lead the team. The team consisted of seven members. Three came from outside the district, one of whom was not connected with any Mission, but loved the work so much that he had taken leave for a week to come and join the team at his own cost; the other two were sent by the Baptist Mission from North and East Bengal. We drew up a programme of work for a fortnight and visited twenty-two Muslim villages in the district. As I could not give my whole time to it, the team was virtually led by two men who had their training in the Henry Martyn School of Islamics at Lahore, under the able guidance of Principal Bevan Jones. One day as we were going through the village of Sanpukur, people gathered round and listened to us. Some, of course, tried to raise controversial points, but others among them talked to us in a friendly manner and desired to know more of the life of Christ. The Vice-President of a Union Board, a Muslim of influence and some learning, welcomed us to his *dahlij* (drawing room) and offered us opportunity to tell the people, who had gathered there for the Jum'a prayers that day, why we believe that Jesus Christ is the only Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. In the presence of a big crowd we told them the old, old story for about two hours. As a result, the Vice-President, an undergraduate of the Calcutta University and a few others were drawn towards the Lord. The witnessing of one man, a native of the place, moved the hearts of many on this occasion. These people have been visiting us since then. In one of my talks with the Vice-President, he told me

that he was ready for baptism, but that he would try to win for the Lord some of his friends and relatives before his public confession. He said, "I have led many of them to the path of destruction before, it is my desire now to lead them to the way of life."

Another of the team sums up his experience as follows:—

"This witnessing work and this Christian fellowship together have been of great spiritual help to the members and we have sincerely enjoyed this team work. Such teams, organized from time to time and in different parts of the country will be a double blessing. They yield much fruit in the upbuilding of the spiritual life of the members through fellowship and prayers and in winning converts from Islam. Let the field be as difficult as it may, by the all-conquering power of the Lord we shall turn it soft and beautiful, and make Jesus the object of everybody's attention."

Then he appends a list of twenty-one names of Muslims from fourteen different villages in the district who have become enquirers as a result of this team work. Is not this very hopeful and cheering?

We have, no doubt, an open door in Bengal, but it is not without its many adversaries. Islam is a virile and aggressive religion, characterized by the solidarity of Islamic brotherhood wherever it is found, and the past history has shown that wherever Christianity has not been virile enough in its contact with Islam it has lost ground. Churches of nearly two thousand years' standing have been totally wiped out from the places of their birth. Due to ultra-nationalistic sentiment, the public preaching of Christianity has been banned in Syria, Egypt, Turkey and other Muslim countries. The nationalistic and communalistic tendencies are visible even in the Congress-administered provinces in India, and subtle steps are being taken by the powers that be to stop the progress of Christianity. Unless Christian forces in India bestir themselves in time, the day is not far distant when they may find that the door is no longer open.

Budge Budge, Bengal D. A. CHOWDHURY.

SUFISM AND SIKHISM

Sikhism is an eclectic religion compounded mainly of elements from Hinduism and Mohammedanism, with a strong bias toward the mystical. Its authentic scripture, the Adi Granth, is a collection of rhapsodical hymns to be sung in praise of the Creator, in which the tune and meter are the all important factors. Such being its nature, it is obviously difficult to analyze and classify the religious beliefs of Sikhism with any great preciseness and consistency. The question of origins is especially elusive; but historical incidents, general tendencies, and some specific examples will be cited to show that Sufism was congenial to Sikhism, and exerted a pervasive, if somewhat vague, influence on it.

Islam entered India with the imperial conquerors in the eleventh century, and won many adherents by its prestige and by force; but it was through the Sufis that Islam first entered the hearts of Hindus. The Sufis fraternized with Hindu ascetics and gurus, and each learned to respect the other's religious faith and life. [1] Bevan Jones estimates that two-thirds of the Mohammedans of India today are under the influence of the dervish orders; and this is all the more remarkable when we remember that the great majority of Indian Moslems are Sunnis. There seems to be little reason to doubt that these orders were equally influential in the days of the Sikh Gurus.

The Chishtiya Order of dervishes, for example, was introduced into Ajmer in 1236 A.D., and we shall see later that Sheikh Brahm, the mystic who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Sheikh Farid, who was a leader of this Order,

[1] Farquhar, "Religious Literature of India," Ch. VII.

was a personal friend of Guru Nanak and contributed over a hundred verses to the Adi Granth. The Suhrawardiya Order was introduced into Multan in 1266, and it was on the border of this district that Nanak was born and grew up. The Qadiriya Order entered Sind in 1482, and Miyan Mir, the *Pir* of Lahore, belonging to this Order, was a personal friend of the Fifth Guru, Arjan; in fact, tradition has him lay the foundation stone of the central shrine of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It would indeed have been strange if two intermingling faiths of pantheistic and mystical tendencies had not merged and fused at many points,—the more so, in view of the avowed purpose of the first Gurus to form a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, and unite their followers in an intermediate religion. Sufism offered Bhakti Hinduism a congenial field of contact for this fusion.

The question as to the origin of Sufism is interesting, but it does not vitally touch our immediate problem. It would, of course, be ironical if Vedantic Brahminism had found its way back into the Sikh revolt against Brahminism in the guise of Sufism;[2] but even in that case the social and religious practices of Sufism were different from those of the caste Hinduism against which the Gurus protested. Macnicol, writing in THE MOSLEM WORLD for January 1939, points out the fundamental similarity of Islam and Hinduism thus: "If we view it (Islam) as a religion pure and simple, we find that it approximates in its religious effects to its diametrical opposite, Vedantic Hinduism. They both, travelling in opposite directions, meet as naturalistic monism." However, with Nicholson[3] and the majority of modern authorities, we may assume an Islamic origin for Sufism, with Zoroastrian and Christian mystical influence from the start, and Hindu and Buddhistic adaptations later. We come, then, to examine instances of Sufi influence on the Sikh Gurus and their writings.

The names of Nanak and Kabir are linked together,

[2] "Dictionary of Islam," art. *Sufi*.
[3] Hastings, ERE, art. *Sufis*, by Nicholson.

and it seems clear that, whether Nanak can be called a disciple of Kabir or not, the teachings of both are very similar, and both represent a common *bhakti* tradition and tried to synthesize Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Next to the Gurus themselves, Kabir is the most extensive contributor to the poetry of the Adi Granth, with over a thousand verses. Tradition even has these two congenial spirits meet. Kabir was brought up in a Mohammedan weaver's home in the Hindu holy city of Benares. Keay [4] holds that while Kabir may not have been a Sufi himself, yet he held and taught many Sufi beliefs and practices. It is said that at his death both Hindus and Mohammedans disputed as to the disposal of his body, but when a voice from heaven intervened, it was found that the body had disappeared and fresh flowers had been left in its place. Accordingly, in commemoration of Kabir there are at Maghar, where he died, a Hindu temple and a Mohammedan mosque side by side. Here is an example from Kabir quoted in the Granth (Macauliffe's translation), which has a Sufi flavor:

SRI RAG XXVII

I collected much molasses, and turned my body into firewood;
Then wine trickled from the roof of the house of pleasure by means of the furnace of my heart.
Describe him as intoxicated with the wine of divine love
Who drinketh the sweetness of God's name and meditateth on divine knowledge.
Since the server of the wine of divine love met me and gave it to me,
My days and nights are passing away intoxicated with pleasure.
I carefully applied my thoughts to the Pure One,
And then, saith Kabir, I obtained Him the Fearless.

Malcolm, in his "Sketch of the Sikhs" [5] written about 1800, says concerning these two:

"He (Nanak) adopted more often to conciliate them (Muhammedans) many of the maxims he had learnt from mendicants who professed the principles of the Sufi sect; and he constantly referred to the admired writings of the celebrated Muhammedan Kabir, who

[4] Keay, "Kabir and His Followers," 90 ff.
[5] Malcolm, "Sketch of the Sikhs," in *Asiatic Review*, vol. XI.

was a professed Sufi, and who inculcated the doctrine of the equality of the relation of all created beings to their creator."

Gen. Malcolm refers to the first Guru as "Nanac Shah," and we are told that the first Gurus dressed like faqirs. The *Dabistan* (Vol. II, 247 ff.) attributes Nanak's conversion and entrance upon his mission to a dervish:

"A durvish came to Nanac and subdued his mind in such a manner that he, Nanac, having entered the granary, gave away the property of Daulet-Khan, and his own, whatever he found there and in his house, and abandoned his wife and children. Daulet Khan was struck with astonishment at hearing this, but, recognizing in Nanac the mark of a durvish, he withheld his hand from hurting him."

Macauliffe, representing the orthodox Sikh point of view, would seem to agree when he quotes the Governor in this incident as saying, "Nanak, it is my misfortune that such an officer as thou shouldst have become a faqir."

The following extracts from "History of the Punjab, and of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs," (London, 1846) are to the same effect:

"When Nanuk returned from his travels he cast off the garments of a Fakir, but he continued to give instructions to his now numerous disciples . . . Nanuk is said to have proceeded to Multan where he communed with the Pirs or Mahomedan saints of the country . . . Nanuk is generally termed by Mahomedan historians Nanuk Shah, to denote his having been a Fakir."

In this same early work, Nanak is said to have appointed Angad as his successor, and clothed him "in the holy mantle of a Fakir."

Trumpp, in his translation of an old Life of Nanak, shows how Nanak was often addressed as a dervish, and how he acknowledged it. When he made his pilgrimage to Mecca, people exclaimed, "Nanak the Darvesh has come." [6]

Macauliffe [7] describes how Nanak sometimes arrayed himself symbolically in a motley of Hindu and Mohammedan garments in order to signify the synthesis of the two faiths he aimed at. On the occasion of a trip to

[6] Trumpp, "Adi Granth," xli.
[7] Macauliffe, "The Sikh Religion," Vol. I, p. 58.

Brindaban, he is described wearing the saffron jacket of a sadhu, the woolen shirt (*Kafni*) of a Faqir, and the hat of a Qalandar dervish.

It seems evident, then, that all through his life Nanak had frequent contacts with faqirs; indeed, he seems half faqir himself. At least three visits to Sheikh Brahm, the famous Sufi of Pakpattan in the Western Punjab, are mentioned by Macauliffe; and in the Granth over one hundred of his verses are preserved. Some of these are commented on by the Gurus, like the following:

Guru Arjan:

"Farid, the heart is dyed with the world, though the world be worthless;
To be like faqirs is difficult; their excellence can only be obtained by perfect acts."

Farid proceeds:

"Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom, in the end of the night the fruit;
They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord."

Guru Nanak objects, and fatalistically observes:

"Gifts are the Lord's; what can prevail against Him?
Some who are awake receive them not; others who are asleep He awaketh and conferreth presents upon."

Farid goes on to say:

"Farid, to be a darwesh at God's gate is difficult; my love for God is only on the surface.
Few there are who walk in the way of the darweshes at God's gate.
My body is heated like an oven; my bones burn like firewood;
Were my feet to tire, I would walk on my head to meet the Beloved."

Nanak here offers the following advice:

"Heat not thy body like an oven, burn not thy bones like firewood;
What harm have thy head and feet done thee? Behold the Beloved within thee."

(*Sloks* of Shaikh Farid, Macauliffe's translation)

At Nanak's death we find a tradition similar to that of Kabir's death, in the claims of both Hindus and Mohammedans either to burn or to bury the body, which disappears. The significance of the tradition is obvious.

In an old Gurumukhi account of the Sikhs (Sikkhan

de Raj di Vidhiya) we find Nanak numbered among the Sufis:

"By reciting the numerous verses and speeches uttered by other sufis, which have received the name of Baba Nanak, pride and worldly wisdom are springing up in the hearts of men." (Quoted in art. *Sikhism* in the "Dictionary of Islam.")

In his discussion of Sikh theology, Trumpp says (c, ci):

"We can distinguish in the Granth a grosser and a finer kind of Pantheism . . . In this finer shade of Pantheism creation assumes the form of *emanation* from the supreme (as in the system of the Sufis); the atomic matter is either likewise considered co-eternal with the Absolute and immanent in it, becoming moulded into various, distinct forms by the energizing vigour of the absolute *Joti* (Light); or the reality of matter is more or less denied (as by the Sufis, who call it the *'adam, tò mē 'ón*), so that the divine Joti is the only real essence in all; this last view borders on Idealism."

The following hymn of Nanak's has a Sufi flavor:

"The Giver gave man a pill of intoxicant illusion.
In his intoxication he forgot death and enjoyed pleasure for four days.
The Sufis obtained truth to keep them in God's court.
Nanak, know the True One alone as true.
By serving Him man obtaineth happiness and proceedeth with honour to His court.
The true wine is that which containeth the true Name; it is prepared without molasses.
I am a sacrifice unto those who hear and explain this.
Man is known as properly intoxicated when he obtaineth a place in God's court."

(Sri Rag, based on Macauliffe's translation.)

Writing on Sufism in "The Cultural Heritage of India," Prof. Narayan Balchand Butani of Karachi observes:

"Guru Arjan, whom the Sufis include in their fold, has the same ideas (God the Causer of everything, good or evil) running practically throughout the *Sukhmani; ashtapadi II* is specially devoted to these. It begins with the *Sloka*:

'The Cause of causes is one God, there is none other,
What pleaseth Him shall come to pass.
He created, He beholdeth His own greatness;
Nanak, god is contained in all things.
The Searcher of hearts sporteth and is pleased.
He causeth man to do as He wisheth.
Nanak, there is nothing seen but Him.'"

The same writer alludes to Arjan's teaching on the value of the company of the saints in the *Sukhmani* ("Peace of Mind") as comparable to Sufi emphasis on the *Murshid* and *Talib*. Here are some of the eighty verses of the Seventh Section of the *Sukhmani* which are on this theme:

"By association with saints the face becometh bright,
By association with saints all filth is removed,
By association with saints pride is effaced,
By association with saints divine knowledge is revealed,
By association with saints God is known to be near,
By association with saints the jewel of the Name is obtained,
By association with saints man knoweth the Supreme Joy,
By association with saints hell is avoided,
By association with saints I have been saved."

The greatness of God is an ever-recurring refrain in Nanak's well-known *Japji* (*jap* equals *dhikr*), and one that has more of a Semitic than Hindu sound, as:

XXIV

"Great is the Lord, and exalted His seat.
His exalted name is higher than the most exalted.
Were any one else ever so exalted,
Then he would know that exalted Being:
How great He is He knoweth Himself.
Nanak, God bestoweth gifts on whom He looketh with favour and mercy."

Some of the figures used in the *Masnawi* of Rumi (Wilson's translation) are familiar to readers of the Granth, such as the Name of God and the value of its repetition, the scent of the musk-deer, sacrifice for God, God as the Beloved with His devotees as the lovers (these are masculine in the *Masnawi,* feminine in the Granth), the fish gasping without water, light, the purifying power of love, predestination, spiritous as a figure for spiritual intoxication, and the verse from the Quran, 17: 109 as used by Kabir and the Tenth Guru:

"Were I to make all the islands my paper, and the seven seas my ink;
Were I to cut down all trees, and turn them into pens for writing;

Were I to make Saraswati dictate for millions of ages, were I to write with the hand of Ganesh,
O Thou who holdest the destroying sword, I could not please Thee even a little without offering Thee homage."
(*Gobind Singh*, Macauliffe's translation.)

In its form, too, the poetry of the Granth has been influenced by Persian poetry forms. The rhyming of all the lines is unlike Hindi poetry, but like Persian.[8] The Persian *ghazal* is specially mentioned as having influenced Punjabi poetry.

We may conclude, then, that although the foundation of Sikhism in the Adi Granth is Hindu, in that it everywhere assumes karma and transmigration and accepts the Hindu pantheon, yet the superstructure is pervaded with Sufi materials, which blend, on the whole, harmoniously with those of Hindu mysticism of the *bhakti* type.

Hartford, Conn. C. H. Loehlin.

[8] "Dictionary of Islam," art. *Sikhism*.

JEFFERY'S "FOREIGN VOCABULARY OF THE QUR'ĀN" [1]

The relative importance of this subject in any critical study of the Qur'ān has been recognized in steadily increasing degree. In recent years many scholars have discussed various branches of the main theme, bringing forward new material or offering new interpretations. Nothing comparable to the present work, however, has hitherto appeared. As to extent, the distance from the twenty-seven pages of Fraenkel's *De Vocabulis . . . in Corans peregrinis* (1880) to the thick volume now before us is significant enough; more important still are the thoroughness, accuracy, and mastery of the material which are here in evidence. The author expresses in his Foreword the hope that students may eventually be provided with a dictionary of the whole Qur'ān on a par with those which they already have for the study of The Old and New Testaments. The time for this will certainly come, though it does not now seem to be near; in the meantime, the special lexical need which is most pressing is admirably met.

An Introduction of some forty pages deals mainly with the treatment of the foreign words, known or supposed to be such, by the Muslim scholars. A very full Bibliography lists the literature, both oriental and occidental, bearing upon the subject; a very helpful feature of the book, as the material is so widely scattered.

The words discussed are presented in alphabetical order, in each case transliterated and translated, with the Qur'ānic references. In the discussion which then follows, account is taken of previous investigations or theories with

[1] The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, by Arthur Jeffery. A volume of The Oriental Series published under the authority of the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Baroda, 1938. pp. xiv, 311.

precise indication, in footnotes, of the place where each is to be found. This laborious listing of the literature is of great value, not only because it is so nearly exhaustive up to the time of publication, but even more because it is so exact. The borrowed words are very frequently considered in their whole history, not merely in the forms from which the Arabs, or Mohammed himself, might have adopted them. Thus we see included Sumerian, Akkadian, Ras Shamra, Sanskrit, Old Persian, Avestic, Armenian, and many other forms. These are all included in an Index, covering fourteen pages, which adds greatly to the value of the book, especially for its lists of the Semitic, Persian, and Greek words which seem to come within reach of the Arabic.

The subject is the more fascinating because it is always new. Very many words which until a short time ago were believed to have been introduced by Mohammed himself are now shown to have been in use in Arabic before his time, perhaps for centuries. The present volume clarifies much that had been obscure and improves upon previous interpretations; and new borrowings, at present unsuspected, will doubtless be found. As we gradually learn more about the Prophet and his surroundings, the current interpretation of this or that word will undergo a change. The process of borrowing described by Professor Jeffery on page 174, should perhaps be recognized more often than has been customary, both in Mohammed's own gleanings and in those of his many predecessors.

Jeffery is disinclined to recognize any borrowing from Jewish sources. An example or two may be given. The word *hāwiya* (pp. 285f.) corresponds in form to a Hebrew word meaning "disaster, catastrophe," but the derivation is rejected on the ground that the text makes the word mean "hell-fire." This confuses the nature of the disaster with the meaning of the word; it would be precisely similar to insist that the word "hell" must mean "fire." In what way, or how long, or by whom the word *hāwiya* had been used, we have no means of knowing. When it is said

(p. 286) that the passage is "much earlier than the time when Mohammed had much contact with the Jews," the assertion has for its basis simply a preferred theory. There was a Jewish community in Mekka (few Arabian cities offered so good an opportunity for trading), and the amount of Mohammed's contact can only be inferred from the Qur'ān; for the Muslim authorities will hear nothing of any such community from which the Prophet could have received material for his early revelations.

The equation *Raqīm*=Decius, in the story of the Seven Sleepers, is rejected (p. 144, note) on the ground that the two words do not resemble each other very closely in the Syriac script. But why mention Syriac? The emphasis laid in the story on clean food indicates Jewish origin (see Jeffery's remark on *dhakkā*, p. 135, below), and there is other evidence to the same effect, pointing to a little collection of popular tales (Sura 18) in a Jewish recension. This indicates writing in the square character, in which the resemblance is as perfect as could be wished.

Among other proposed derivations which are here rejected, there are two which may be given bare mention: *mu'tafika,* p. 274, based on the very common Jewish-Aramaic verb *'afak,* which fits the case exactly; and the adjective *'ummī,* an Arabic adaptation of Jewish *gōi,* an important word.

There is in the Qur'ān, especially in the earlier part, a great amount of Hebrew-Jewish material, Bible, haggada, midrash; and there has been considerable debate of the question, in what way this came to Mohammed's knowledge. According to Nöldeke, it came directly from the Jews; according to Wellhausen, it came through Christian hands. The latter view, based on very insecure grounds, gained general acceptance and is maintained in the present volume.

What manner of Jews were those of Northern Arabia at the time under consideration? Jeffery, p. 25, says of them: "One would gather from the Qur'ān that they were far better acquainted with the Rabbinic writings than they

were with the Scriptures." If there is any particle of evidence to this effect in the Qur'ān, the present reviewer cannot imagine where it could be found. The Jews were a stubborn people, marvelously uniform in the main essentials of their religious practice in all parts of the world. Palestine and Babylonia were both within easy reach of the Hejaz. We have in the Qur'ān simply what the Prophet chose to report in the shape which he chose to give it. Certainly neither Jew nor Christian taught him that the virgin Mary was the sister of Aaron. It is hardly safe to say, at any point, that his memory was at fault. We smile when we see David and Goliath plastered together with Gideon's water-lappers (Sura 2: 247-252); but the result was a gloriously inspiring recital for the Muslims at a time when they needed all their faith. There are numerous other examples of the same freedom. The Prophet of course "edited" the material which he received, in a manner suited to his own great purpose. The more it was remodeled, the more evidently it was his own revelation and the Arabs' own divinely revised history. How did it happen that so much of the Hebrew history and literature, practically all of it that appears in the Qur'ān, was "revealed" *at Mekka?* If Christians had taught Mohammed all this, they certainly would at the same time have taught him something about Christian history and the Christian faith.

Critical study of the Qur'ān will in the course of time establish numerous facts which as yet have hardly come above the horizon. The criticism, historical and literary, has been mainly in the hands of native scholars, whose conclusions have been very largely accepted; but it is certain that in some weighty matters they have been mistaken, and of these perhaps the most important is the question of Mohammed's relations with the Jews—a particularly delicate point!

Professor Macdonald, in a sympathetic but critical notice of my "Jewish Foundation of Islam" (*Isis,* Vol. XXI, pp. 319 ff.), ends by saying, "It narrows down to

this: Is Islam a Jewish or a Christian heresy?" One may object to this formulation of the alternative (probably not intended to be taken strictly). Islam could not be called a Christian heresy, for the Qur'ān contains no specifically Christian doctrines except the virgin birth and the ascension of Jesus; both well known throughout the world including the Arabian peninsula, and both indispensable to Mohammed. Nor could Islam be called in any true sense an offshoot of Judaism. It is most unlikely that Mohammed was ever inclined to identify himself with the Jews, or that he was ever regarded by them as a probable proselyte. He saw what he could use, and borrowed enormously.

Islam is what the Prophet declared it to be, a truly Arabian religion—a great creation. It was made to antedate the Israelite religion, and to appear completely independent of it, by the Prophet's admirable *tour de force* in 37: 97-113, the account of the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac). Here was the fountain head of Islam, the religion of Abraham and Ishmael the father of the Arabs. Mohammed of course sincerely believed this to be the true history, revealed to him as the Arabian prophet. It is strange that modern scholars should have failed to see how the ingenious revision cut the ground from under the feet of the Jews, assigning to them, in the eyes of the whole Muslim world henceforth, a later origin and an inferior development (see vss. 112 f.), and to see how essential to Mohammed's conception of *an Arabian religion* the person of Ishmael must have been from the first.

Here are fundamental questions, by no means settled at present, the answer to which will determine the conclusions in regard to very many of the foreign words in the Qur'ān. Professor Jeffery has given us a most valuable collection and discussion of the material now available, and there is still plenty of room for fresh discussion and new interpretation.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE OF ISLĀM *

The noun "islām" and its adjective "muslim" are used in four quite different senses, all of which have historical validity and have been used in English books, although not all of these meanings have as yet been put into our English dictionaries.

In the first place, both terms are used in a general religious sense to imply surrender or resignation to Allah. This usage is recognized by Sale, Rodwell and Palmer,[1] in their translations of the Qur'ān. Attention has rightly been called to this general meaning of the terms, but it is not correct to say that "the Koran contains no sectarian assertion."[2]

Secondly, "Islām" and "Muslim" are used in the Qur'ān in an inclusive sense to refer to the one true religion which Allah revealed to various peoples through successive apostles and prophets.[3] In this sense Jews, Sabians, Christians, Zoroastrians and other believers are all "Muslims" and their religion is "Islām."[4] This may be called the inclusive sectarian meaning of the terms. It is the use adopted by the reforming and modernistic groups in Turkey, India and elsewhere, who wish to consider themselves Muslims in religion, but reject the laws and regulations that formerly ruled the secular life of the followers of Muḥammad.

Thirdly, the word "islām" means the practices of the religion that are prescribed as the required duties of all Muslims. In this sense the term "islām" is synonymous with *'ibādāt,* the five acts of worship and service, and is correlative with (*a*) *īmān,* which includes the six articles of faith required of all Muslims, and with (*b*) *iḥsān,* which refers to the general class of good works that all Muslims should perform.[5]

In the fourth place, "Islām" means the whole system of faith and practice founded by Muḥammad. In this sense of the term "Islām" is synonymous with Muḥammadanism and has a definitely sectarian meaning.[6]

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* Reprinted by permission from the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* Vol. xxvi, Part II, April, 1939.

[1] As, for instance, in their versions of 2: 130.

[2] *Islamic Culture,* vol. xi., p. 141.

[3] "Every age has its book," Qur. 13: 38.

[4] *Cf.* Qur. 22: 17.

[5] For this use of "islām" see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 23 f.

[6] The origin of this sectarian meaning of the term "Islām" is fully discussed by Torrey in his *Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933), pp. 101 ff.

It is "Islām" in this fourth sense that is discussed in this article. This is the meaning usually given to the term, for when we hear the word "Islām" we think of it as referring to one of the religions of the world along with Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Judaism and the like.

But after we have classified Islām as one of the religions of the world, it is necessary to realize that Islām as a world religion includes far more than people in the modern Western world mean when they use the word "religion." Our modern world has two distinguishing characteristics: one is the division of life into secular and religious spheres and another is the restriction of religious authority to spiritual influence. To us religion is one of the divisions of life along with other departments which we call secular and which we further subdivide into political and social, cultural and economic spheres.

Islām, however, is not simply a religion in this Western sense. It is a system which embraces all the departments of life.[7] In this respect Islām resembles other religions of the Eastern world. It directs all the attitudes and actions of its adherents. To express this idea, the new word "totalitarian" has been used quite appropriately to describe Islām. In accordance with this description, Islām may be defined broadly as a system of life founded by Muḥammad. For Muḥammad personally his religion—that is, his allegiance to Allah—controlled all his interests—vocational, private and public. The first revelation he received made him prophet and apostle, the herald and messenger of Allah to the people. As the apostle of Allah he was the only authorized teacher and leader of the people. It was by revelation (2:138 ff.) that he changed the *qiblah,* the direction of worship, from Jerusalem to Makkah. In managing his domestic problems, more than once he sought and followed the revelation of the will of Allah. In his public and political relations, verses later included in the Qur'ān commanded the believers to "obey Allah and His apostle" (4:62; 3:29).

Muḥammad's converts became Muḥammadans, his disciples and companions, his imitators and followers, in religious, social and political principles and practices.[8] This imitation of Muḥammad is based on the Qur'ān (33:44) and expanded in tradition, but his followers were not to imitate him in all things. A single well-known illustration will suffice here, and other examples will appear as we proceed. In the number of wives his followers were restricted to four at a time, while for him there was a different limit.[9] But in all things that he commanded, his disciples were to

[7] *Cf. Islam in the World,* by Zaki Ali (Lahore, 1938), p. 56: " . . . in the Islamic society religion pervades and permeates every individual action, both in the spiritual and in the material domain."

[8] Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 20 f.

[9] *Cf.* 33:52; al-Baidāwī says it was the nine he had at the time of the revelation of the verse. See also *Ibn Saad* (Leiden, 1904), pp. 140 ff.

obey him. He had founded a new community. He became the leader and director of his converts in their domestic, social, civil and religious life.[10] His leadership and prophethood had the sanction, nay, the mandate, of Allah for their authority.

I. POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF ISLĀM

It is, however, not to be supposed that everything in the new community was new. For instance, when Muḥammad established his new state in Yathrib (al-Madinah), he gave a charter to the community. This charter provided for a single central sovereign authority in government, a principle new in Arabia, but by no means new in neighbouring countries or previous empires. The charter also made religion instead of tribal or blood relationship the bond of association in the community. Apart from this centralization of political authority and the preeminence given to religious allegiance, the charter changed little and introduced little that was new in the social and political life of the people.

For an adequate understanding of Islām it is exceedingly important to realize these facts, for they show three things: In the first place, at the beginning of Islām Muḥammad introduced a political principle long recognized in other lands. Secondly, the Muslims did not abolish all former customs, but continued to follow those that did not conflict with the new Islamic principles. Thirdly, local and even foreign custom could be a supplementary source to provide Islām with both principles and methods of life not supplied by the Qur'ān or tradition.

There is still another important point to be noted: Never did Muḥammad instruct or allow any of his companions or followers to expect or seek any revelations for themselves or others in personal or public affairs. He was the sole channel of the revelation of the divine will, the only apostle of Allah to his people. This was Muḥammad's conviction and attitude while he was at Makkah, as well as later, at al-Madinah.[11] It was while he was at al-Madinah that the further revelation (33: 40) came to him that proclaimed him to be the Seal of the Prophets. This made him not only the sole channel of revelation for his own time and generation, but also the last prophet and apostle of Allah for all time and all succeeding generations.

During Muḥammad's lifetime the new Muslim community was a pure theocracy. It was a state under the direct government of Allah through Muḥammad, the only channel and agent of the divine revelation and rule. While he lived Muḥammad decided all civil

[10] "It is specifically declared that to obey the Apostle is to obey Allah himself who sent him," R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, ii., p. 3. *Cf.* Qur. 4: 82.
[11] See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i., pp. 20 f.

and political disputes, he directed all public activities, he was the immediate source of all new law and legislation. When Muḥammad died revelation ceased and Islām ceased to be a pure theocracy. Muḥammad had founded a new state, but because he was the last prophet and apostle no one could continue the relationship and service that he had begun. No one could solve the new problems of the state by securing new revelations from Allah. Muḥammad's position was to remain unique. His successors would have to take Muḥammad's prophetic statements and his other words and deeds for their guide. His formal pronouncements were the first to be collected and they became the Qur'ān. His other words and deeds, as reported by his disciples, were preserved and became the traditions of Islām, second in authority only to the Qur'ān itself, as a source of law and practice for the Muslim community.

After Muḥammad's death, the first task was to carry on the government of the community. It is a clear commentary on the strength of Muḥammad's influence that there was no attempt on the part of his followers in al-Madinah to go back to the pre-Muḥammad method of Arabian politics. Some distant adherents tried to revert to their tribal forms of government and life, but the Muslims of the city of the Prophet accepted the principle of a centralized authority for the preservation and application of the divine law given through Muḥammad.

With regard to the method of selecting this authority, however, because there had to be a central authority and because Muḥammad had not named his successor, and, further, because the divine law did not prescribe any method for selecting the successor, the old Arab method of decision by the elders of the community was naturally followed. So Muḥammad's closest companions, of whom a number were indeed also his relatives by marriage, elected Abū Bakr as the head of the state.

The very title given to Abū Bakr throws much light upon the political influence of Muḥammad. The new leader was called the *khalīfah,*[12] meaning successor and vicegerent. He was always to be one who followed Muḥammad as the original and unique leader, and to represent Muḥammad in carrying out the divine law established by the Prophet.

This first act of the Muslim community in meeting problems without Muḥammad's immediate direction teaches several lessons about Islām. It shows that it was not the prophetic pronouncements of Muḥammad, nor yet any other utterances of his that determined the leadership of the future Muslim state. Rather, in preserving the principle of a single supreme authority the Muslims

[12] The uses of the root in its various forms in the Qur'ān have no reference to a successor to Muḥammad as a ruler or *imām.*

imitated and obeyed Muḥammad by continuing the practice that he had introduced into Arabia. Further, in accepting the leader chosen by the elders of the community they supplemented his formal and informal guidance by following previous established custom. A method of procedure known to the Muslims of the time and place was found to be satisfactory and so made a part of Islām. Thus an event, as well as prophetic instruction and tradition, had its part in determining the future of Islām. The precedent of informal election to the leadership of the community was adopted as a principle by a group of the community, the Khārijiyyah, and has remained the chief constitutional theory of their descendants, the 'Ibāḍiyyah, in Oman, Zanzibar and North Africa to this day. Briefly stated, the event furnished a precedent, and the precedent became a principle.

But where there are elections there is the possibility of factions and divisions. The first *khalīfah*, Abū Bakr, took measures to prevent the division of the Muslim community and nominated 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb as his successor. Thus the precedent of nomination became an established principle for part of the Muslims and in a modified form was acted upon by the Umaiyads and the Abbasids and by later Muslim dynasties.

When 'Umar was murdered the principle of election was again adopted, but modified by confining the authority to choose to a designated council of elders. 'Uthmān was elected. He did not belong to Muḥammad's clan, the Hashimis, but to another clan of the tribe of Quraish, the Umaiyads. Most of the members of this clan were only late adherents of Islām. These late adherents were more numerous than Muḥammad's early followers, but they were fortunate in having one of their number both as an early disciple and as a son-in-law of Muḥammad. So their candidate, 'Uthmān, was elected over an increasingly influential rival.

When 'Uthmān died, also by murder, again the principle of election was followed and 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib was made *khalīfah*. 'Alī was a cousin of Muḥammad's and also, like his predecessor, a son-in-law. But, unlike Muḥammad's other relatives by marriage, 'Alī was the only one through whom Muḥammad had descendants of the second generation. Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭimah was married to 'Alī and had two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. This circumstance furnished the basis of the greatest and most lasting schism in Islām. The partisans of 'Alī adopted the principle of legitimacy in government and made blood relationship the test of political leadership.

But that new principle had difficulties to overcome. The other principles, of election and nomination, had earlier authority. More-

over, 'Alī himself met opposition. Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Damascus, was strong enough and ambitious enough to challenge 'Alī's right to continue to rule. He did not challenge 'Alī's election, but he claimed that 'Alī was not ruling well. He demanded and secured a new election and contrived to have himself chosen. It was that event that split Islām asunder. Mu'āwiyah established himself as *khalīfah* with Damascus as his capital. 'Alī and his partisans became a subordinate minority. His successors became pretenders to the supreme and central authority. For a hundred years they were unable to cope with the ruling dynasty at Damascus.

Mu'āwiyah established the Umaiyad dynasty simply by nominating his own son as his successor. He combined the Muslim principle of nomination with the ancient Arabian practice of family leadership, as had the party of 'Alī, but he chose his own family rather than the family of Muḥammad. Family nomination became the dominant principle of succession among all subsequent Muslim states.

Except in Mu'āwiyah's reign, during the Umaiyad government Islām had only one *khalīfah* at a time. But it is abundantly clear that not all the Muslims desired or approved the particular authority which was over them. The Khārijiyyah favoured the constitutional theory of election. The Shī'ah, or party of 'Alī, with its legitimist principle of allegiance to the family of Muḥammad, drew to itself others disaffected with the central government. Many of these were non-Arabs, remote from Damascus, and eager to centralize the government in their own vicinity. Ancient Arabian tribal antagonisms continued their divisive influences. At the end of a century of Umaiyad rule, a newly formed party, the Abbasid, by alliance with the Alid party, was able to over-throw the last Umaiyad *khalīfah,* and establish a new dynasty which lasted for five centuries. During this period the Muslim Empire began to disintegrate. Its unity was destroyed through the formation of separate states with *khalīfahs,* kings and sultans of their own. It was under the Ottoman Turks that a single *khalīfah* again reigned in Islām, but the empire he ruled was no longer coextensive with the world of Islām.

It was Turkey also that introduced the next precedent in connection with the caliphate (*al-khilāfah*). It abolished the office entirely on April 10, 1928. By that action the Turkish Republic for the first time in Muslim world history put into effect a principle that has been recognized in Western Christendom since the beginning of Protestantism. It is the principle of the separation of Church and State. The separation begun during the Reformation has steadily increased in effect and spread in extent. It is true to say that the present effort of secular authoritarian govern-

ments to include religion within the scope of their power is but the other swing of the pendulum to that of mediæval times when the central ecclesiastical authority represented by the papacy sought to exercise all the secular and political power possible over nominal emperors and subservient peoples.

Long ago in his *Muhammadanische Studien* (Halle, 1889-1890, ii, p. 384), Goldziher called attention to a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-Fitan, Bab 2*). The tradition says, "Render unto them (your rulers) what is due to them, and ask of Allah what is due to yourselves."

It has remained for Turkey to put into effect in Islām the separation between religion and government that these words teach. In legislating that religion shall be a personal rather than an institutional concern, and a private rather than a social and civic relationship, the Turkish Government has cleared the way for the recognition of the spiritual as opposed to the temporal authority of religion. It is noteworthy that Madame Halidé Edib has already called the Turks "the Protestant Moslems of the world." [13] Entirely aside from religious considerations, by that act of separation Turkey became a part of the modern world. Iran and 'Iraq are on the way.

We have taken enough time and space to deal only with the political leadership of Islām, but we have seen that events and circumstances, as well as the Qur'ān, determined the nature of that leadership. Further, it was neither the Qur'ān nor early tradition that determined the governmental organization of Islām. Rather, much of the system of government of the conquered countries was continued by the Muslims, together with many of the local laws and methods of procedure. In Syria, for instance, the Umaiyads for decades retained the Christian administrative staff, who continued to keep their account books in Greek. In 'Iraq the Abbasids adopted the Persian system of administration by viziers and provincial governors. The Ottoman Turks inherited Byzantine cultural and political patterns, adding Muslim religious institutions. Everywhere the Muslims incorporated in their own codes much of the law of the lands they conquered and ruled.

All this is quite in accordance with the principle mentioned above that local custom, new circumstances and new events may be supplementary sources for principles and practices new to Muslim law and government.

Thus it is sufficiently clear that the constitutional theories and the administrative structures of the many successive and cotemporaneous Muslim governments were not determined mainly by the Qur'ān and tradition. Indeed, the major political factors in Islām have ever been circumstances and events.

[13] In *Turkey Faces West* (Yale University Press, 1930), p. 209.

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We will consider now the social aspects of Islām. In this respect also it should be noted that the Qur'ān is not Islām. The Qur'ān was the revelation of Allah. It was therefore sacred and supreme. The sacred character of the Qur'ān gave divine authority to the religion based on it. All the laws and regulations of Islām received that divine authority. But although the Qur'ān gave Islām its divine authority and has paramount prestige as the source of that authority, it has never been the only source nor the greatest source for the content of Islām. That is why the Qur'ān is not Islām. One who knows this sacred book does not thereby know Islām.

The Qur'ān is not the only nor the main source for the social structure of Islām. It does not prescribe all the social practices of the Muslims. It is well known, for instance, that there is no mention in the Qur'ān of the custom of circumcision, almost universally practised among Muslims and so important that it is nearly everywhere the chief initiatory rite for converts. Moveover, even though the Qur'ān may contain a particular command or prohibition, that fact does not of itself prove that the command or prohibition is still in force for Islām today. When the Qur'ān was collected its editors preserved certain early revelations that had been abrogated, or, as some prefer to say, supplemented or superseded, by later revelations. One of the necessary qualifications for Quranic scholars is knowledge of these abrogated and abrogating verses of the Quranic text.

We have seen that when Muḥammad established his political system in al-Madinah he introduced the important principles of centralized authority and of religious solidarity. In the social life of the Muslims the Qur'ān in some respects raised the status of the people. It prescribed new laws of marriage and divorce, it prohibited female infanticide and recognized the rights of women in religion and in property matters. Muḥammad's new system undertook theoretically to direct and control all these and all other attitudes and actions of its adherents. The divine revelation in the Qur'ān mentioned some subjects. For other things other sources of instruction and authority had to be used.

It was the Quranic command to obey Muḥammad that sanctioned the second source of authority for Islām. This source is the Sunnah. The term means the "path" or "way," and refers first to the way Muḥammad taught by his words and deeds and then to the way his disciples acted, assumedly in imitation and obedience

of Muḥammad, and then to the way of life and thought followed by the community of Muslims.

The Sunnah is recorded in the traditions of Islām. This word "tradition," *ḥadīth* in Arabic, is used in a technical sense and means the words and acts of Muḥammad and the early Muslims handed down orally until they reached written record in books. It is worth while to note that comparatively few of even the earliest recorded traditions have become part of the Sunnah of Islām. It is for this reason that Wensinck quite properly reminds those who use this *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927, p. viii) that his "book, though dealing largely with juristic topics, may not be considered authoritative on any point of *fikh* (Muslim jurisprudence) . . . . Tradition cannot be used as a repertory of Muslim law, but it is, with the commentaries, the chief source of the history of dogma and law, for there is scarcely any dogmatic or juristic view that cannot be supported by an appropriate tradition."

Likewise Muslim customs, whatever their original source, tend to be based on traditions, or have traditions, genuine or invented, to justify them, but not every tradition has found expression in a general custom.

The two largest Muslim groups, the Sunnis and the Shi'is, have separate collections of traditions as their sources of instruction and authority to supplement the Qur'ān. These numerous books of tradition are indeed indispensable for the history of Islamic faith and practice. They report the doctrines and customs that have become acceptable to the Sunnis and to the Shi'is, and that in doing so have perhaps come to supersede beliefs and practices taught by the Qur'ān or other traditions. For, confining our attention to the Sunnis, it is possible for the Sunnah of the community to abrogate what is taught both by the Qur'ān and by earlier Sunnah. The doctrines of the Sinlessness of all the Prophets and of the Intercession of Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other prophets on the Day of Judgment are orthodox in Islām now, but they are not found in the Qur'ān. Further, tradition says Muḥammad refused to perform the worship for the dead at the burial of an insolvent Muslim, but it is the custom to do so now. The reason is that other traditions authorized the practice and they are the ones that determined the Sunnah of the community.

An illustration of the inadequate and antiquated character of the old laws and standards is provided by the commercial laws of Islām based on the Qur'ān and early tradition. Those laws are almost entirely inapplicable to the practices and problems of modern times. In the simple matter of interest on loans all sorts of

casuistry and subterfuge are in common use by Muslims who wish to observe the letter of the divine law and yet meet the requirements of modern life.

Thus the Islamic scholar needs to study the traditions as well as the Qur'ān in order to know the Islām of the past and the present, for the Sunnah is the second source of authority in Islām and is part of its fundamental structure.

The rapid expansion of Islām from Arabia into Syria, 'Iraq, Egypt and beyond brought to the Muslim rulers and administrators problems that were new. The Qur'ān and Traditions had nothing that specifically applied to these new situations. In the early days these new cases had to be decided under the exigencies of the situation and according to the individual judgment of the Muslim administrators. Since these administrators had no written code to enforce, their personal judgment, called *ra'y* in Arabic, was acceptable.

In al-Madinah the learned Muslims supplemented the two already recognized sources of authority by deciding cases new to Islām in accordance with community custom and welfare. The decision of problems that were new having in view the welfare of the community was a process of judgment or reasoning of a special character, to which the name of *istiṣlāḥ* was given.

In 'Iraq, however, a different variety of reasoning was used when it became necessary to supplement the specific instructions of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, for in 'Iraq the local situation was different from that in al-Madinah. 'Iraq was really foreign territory, and had long been under Greek, or, rather, Hellenistic influence. There Muslim jurisprudence developed in the liberal atmosphere promoted by generations of Neoplatonic teachers and students. There the Muslim community was mixed—Arabian, 'Iraqian and Persian. Individual Muslims represented in themselves the mingled influences of primitive Arabian Islām and liberal foreign philosophy. The result was that in 'Iraq the reasoning that supplemented the early Muslim authorities was characterized by rationalism and was called *istiḥsān.* It was judgment determined by that which was thought to be preferable or that which was "for the best."

But none of these types of reasoning was able to win general acceptance in Islām. *Ra'y* or private judgment was too individual, *istiṣlāḥ* or community welfare was too local, and *istiḥsān* or that which was preferable was too liberal for strict Muslims. So another type of reasoning was developed which kept close to the already accepted Muslim authorities. This was *qiyās,* or analogical reasoning, which solved new problems on the basis of their analogy to

the decisions already recorded in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. *Qiyās* kept legislation Muslim in character, rather than individual, local or academic, and so it became the third source of authority for most Muslims.

Meanwhile Islām had been expanding; separate communities had been absorbed into its empire; political factions had been developing; traditional practices became increasingly divisive and theological sectarianism had been developing. But all groups claimed to be Muslim; all affirmed their allegiance to Allah, Muḥammad and Islām. This common loyalty produced a new and needed source of authority to keep Islām from division and disintegration. The doctrine of *ijmā'* or Agreement became the fourth source of authority for the fundamental structure of Islām. "Agreement" is the consensus of opinion of Muslim theologians and jurisprudents that a particular doctrine or custom has become accepted in Islām. Agreement does not propose or initiate any belief, but it pronounces such articles or customs to be general among Muslims and therefore a part of the Muslim religion. This agreement of the Muslim community is a principle of immense practical value to Islām. It gives Muslims a general basis on which to unite even though they differ on many other matters. It allows ideas and practices acceptable to one group or section to spread until they are adopted generally in Islām. It provides the method by which change takes place in Islām. Historically, Agreement has sanctioned for the vast majority of Muslims doctrines and customs not taught by the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and earlier Agreement.

If any proof were needed that Agreement has brought about great changes in Islām, it would be enough to mention the attitude of the Muslims of Central Arabia towards the beliefs and practices of Muḥammadans everywhere else. These Muslims accept only the strict Islām of the primitive Muslim community and assert that all others have changed so much that they hardly have the right to be considered as true Muslims.

But the majority of the Muslim legal and doctrinal authorities hold that these four sources or principles, viz., the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, Analogy and Agreement, are all valid and provide adequate means for the decision of all new problems and so they form the bases of the fundamental structure of Islām.

The authoritative teachers of Sunnī Islām belong to four permanent schools of law. They are the schools or rites of Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. Four other schools were started, but they gained neither widespread nor permanent influence. The four permanent schools differ both in the number of sources they accept and in their interpretation of the principles

of the divine law. As a result there are differences in the customs and practices that they approve. Each school has produced its own code of laws, and there are books which deal especially with the disagreements among the schools.

But the problem of Islām has ever been to provide a method of life that would be definite and practical and still be based on its numerous and differing authorities. The schools of jurisprudence could not cover in detail all the activities of life, nor could the code of any one school be applied to a whole community. The Qur'ān makes it a common duty for all Muslims to command any lawful and to forbid any unlawful act. But the enforcement of law had to be the special duty of recognized authority. In the early decades the Muslim system had been enforced by the rulers in person. Hārūn al-Rashīd, the fifth Abbasid *khalīfah,* merely followed imperial precedent in making his famous nocturnal tours of Baghdad to attend in person to the preservation of law and order in his capital. Later the duty was delegated to other officers. In the capital of Sa'ūdī Arabia the custom of the nightly inspection of the city is still followed.

In the cities the officer who was delegated to enforce the law was called the *muḥtasib,* whose duties included those of a proctor, inspector-general, guardian of law and morality and chief constable. In many places the *muḥtasib* had definite instructions to guide him in regulating the activities of all in his community. These instructions dealt in detail with the actions referred to in the Qur'ān under the general terms of *ma'rūf,* or legal, and *munkar,* or illegal. The word *ḥisbah* [14] included these two kinds of actions. The books of *ḥisbah*-law, of which one at least was compiled by a *muḥtasib* [15] for the benefit of his successor in office, contained the rules and regulations that were supported by general public opinion. They were more or less completely codified and were as specific and detailed as it was possible to make them. They covered matters which did not come under the jurisdiction of the *khalīfah's* political and military officers and the *qāḍī* or judge, although there was some overlapping of subjects.

These books of *al-ḥisbah,* or official codes of what was lawful and unlawful, do not take the place of the usually ideal and theoretical codes of the schools of jurisprudence, and they do not by any means make unnecessary for Islamic scholars the study of the four chief sources of Muslim law. They do, however, provide practical handbooks of the rules and regulations that reflected the common public conscience and guided public conduct.

[14] Al-Ghazālī, in *Itḥāf al-Sādah,* by Saiyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, vol. vii., p. 14; *cf. J.R.A.S.,* 1916, p. 77.
[15] *Journal Asiatique,* 5e série, t. 16, p. 348.

The Muslim authorities, we have seen, have held that the four sources of law and doctrine are adequate for all Islām for all time. They have expressed that position by saying, "The door of *ijtihād,* or the right of personal judgment, is closed." Nevertheless Muslim society never ceased to change and Muslim jurisprudence has never ceased to develop. The later changes in Muslim jurisprudence are recorded in the books of *fatāwī,* or legal opinions of prominent jurists. A *fatwā* (pl. *fatāwī*) is an opinion delivered by a *muftī,* who could be a private individual or an official of the Government, who by his learning or position has the right to express an opinion in response to a question on a point of law or conduct. It is in the collections of *fatāwī* that the development of Muslim law later than the standard works of the early orthodox authorities is to be found. An important instance of the method of procedure is recorded in Sir W. W. Hunter's book, *The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?* [16] The book deals with the problem of the *jihād,* or war in Islām. It shows how *fatāwī* were secured from leading Muslim religious authorities, who gave their opinion that it was not obligatory for the Muslims in India to maintain a hostile attitude toward their non-Muslim rulers. Another instance of *fatwā* law-making occurred in Egypt when the Muftī Muḥammad 'Abduh gave his opinion that in the Transvaal Muslims might wear hats instead of the usual tarbush or fez. [17]

The collections of *fatāwī* contain the results of the application of the accepted Muslim principles to contemporary cases. There are many such collections and they form a necessary supplement to the early standard codes of the schools of law.

The classical books of jurisprudence, the practical handbooks of *ḥisbah*-law and the later books of *fatāwī* or case-opinions, all represent the *sharī'ah,* or divine law. They are all dependent upon and closely related to the four principles or sources which form the bases of the official fundamental structure of Islām.

But in addition to these four there are two other bases upon which Islām as a system of life is built.

It has been noted, in dealing with the political development of Islām, that there was another source, supplementary to the Qur'ān, by which the Muslims were provided with guidance. This source was previously established custom. Custom became the chief guide for the political development of Islām and provided most of its governmental structure and practice. Similarly previous custom supplemented the official sources of the divine law. [18] Much

[16] London: Trübner and Co., 1871.
[17] Paper by C. C. Adams in the *Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton, 1933), pp. 13-29.
[18] *Cf.* Levy, *Ma'ālim al-Qurba* (London, 1938), pp. 15 and 131 of the Arabic text.

established custom, or *ʿādah* in Arabic, and well-known local practice, or *ʿurf,* was recognized as lawful in Islām. The Qur'ān itself makes much of categories of things that are *maʿrūf,* or recognized and so legal, and *munkar,* or not recognized and so illegal. The codes of law specified the actions included in these legal and illegal classifications. The items increased in number and varied in particular as Islām developed and spread to new localities. The sources that provided these items were the *ʿādah* and the *ʿurf,* the customs, of the communities. At one time, as Goldziher [19] has pointed out, the *ʿurf* was advocated as the fifth official source of Muslim jurisprudence. The effort did not succeed because Islām could not sanction all previous non-Muslim customs, for some of the practices did not accord with Muslim principles. Nevertheless, so much of previous established custom has been included in Islām that the effort to make *ʿurf* and *ʿādah* official bases of law was, to all practical purposes, a success. The Muslim theologians and lawyers may acknowledge officially only the four orthodox sources, but they open the way for the admission of *ʿurf* and *ʿādah* customs by increasing or changing the items included in what is lawful. Further, administrators in Muslim countries have found it necessary to recognize *ʿādah* as law. Even at the centre of Islām in Arabia the *sharīʿah* or divine law has never completely displaced the tribal law and custom, the *ʿurf* and *ʿādah* of the Arabs of the desert. [20] Government officials, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have always recognized old and local custom as legal and binding. An increasing number of codes of *ʿādat*-law [21] are being found or formulated. They record the customs and practices which the Muslim religious authorities have not had occasion to include in the *sharīʿah,* or divine law, as *maʿrūf,* or legal, or to denounce as *munkar,* or unlawful. [22] The administrators of the life of the community, however, could not wait for the decisions of the theologians. It has always been a practical necessity for them to accept and enforce *ʿādat*-law. As an actual fact, therefore, previous local custom has ever been a fifth source for the fundamental structure of Islām, in its social as well as its political development.

It is, of course, in custom that much of popular Islām has its basis and being. There are pagan survivals in the Muḥammadan civilization of every land from Morocco to Malaysia. Scholars will not agree in specifying the doctrines and practices that are to be labelled as superstitions and pagan survivals nor in stating how many of them have been incorporated into the system of

[19] *Die Ẓâhiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 204.
[20] *Cf. Hajji Rikkan, the Marsh Arab,* by Fulanain (pp. 69 ff. in Lippincott, Philadelphia, edition, 1938).
[21] See the art. "Adat law" in *Ency. of Islam,* Supplement, p. 7.
[22] *Cf.* "The Customary and Statutory Laws of the Muslims in India," by Hamid Ali, in *Islamic Culture,* vol. xi., pp. 354-369, 444-454.

Islām that is taught by the recognized teachers of the religion.[23] Muslim authorities themselves acknowledge the existence of such beliefs and customs among the Muslims, but they differ about the things to be condemned. Popular Islām includes much that is not orthodox and never will be, but the popular beliefs and practices form an important part of Muslim civilization and therefore deserve careful study on the part of Islamic scholars.

Secondary to the *'urf* and *'ādah* which formed the old unwritten custom of the community and which became a supplement to the *sharī'ah,* or divine law, is the *qānūn* or written code of laws which the Muslims found in operation in some of the foreign countries which they conquered and administered. In Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey and elsewhere such existing *qānūn* laws were recognized as valid along with the *sharī'ah.*

The Ottoman Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent was called *Qanuni* because of his extensive codification of extra-*sharī'ah* legislation, but he was not the first to adopt or enact such laws. It was Turkey that first imported laws from abroad when the French code provided much of the *tanẓīmat* or reform legislation of the nineteenth century. The Turkish Republic simply followed and extended earlier precedent in adopting the German commercial code, the Italian penal code and the Swiss civil code to provide a more modern and adequate system of secular jurisprudence for an ancient and limited code based primarily upon the Qur'ān as a divine revelation.

The theologians and *sharī'at*-lawyers have ever objected to the enactment and enforcement of the *qānūn*-codes. Nevertheless, secular law has increasingly supplanted and subordinated the authority of the Qur'ān, the traditions and the whole legal system based on them. The Muslim world is following the West. It is restricting its mediæval religious laws and regulations and is expanding its modern secular codes. Parliamentary legislation and statutory law are determining the content and direction of Muslim life, both individual and national. In Turkey officially and elsewhere with some individuals, Islām has already become a religion in the Western sense of the word: a department of life to which belong belief in the supernatural, worship and the spiritual control of conduct.

Thus we see that *'ādat*-law or established custom and secular or *qānūn*-law early became two important supplements to the four orthodox sources for the social structure of Islām. Students of Islām need to add to their knowledge of the classical texts of Muslim jurisprudence the information that has been acquired and recorded by the foreign and indigenous administrators of Muslim

[23] *Cf. ṣalāt al-kusūf,* the Worship at the time of an Eclipse, and the Pilgrimage.

communities. Further, they need to read the results preserved by observant travellers and competent investigators. And they find it necessary to keep abreast of current national and international legislation as they view the change of the world of Islām from a civilization based on religious authority to a diversity of nations and peoples that are increasingly under secular control.

III. RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE

The third section of this paper deals with the most important feature of the Muslim system of life—namely, that concerned with Islām in its religious aspects.

The theological development of the Muslim community is revealed by the increase in number and content of its creeds. The term "creed" is applied to three kinds of affirmation of Muslim doctrine. These three types of statement show with fidelity the original and the later sources and stages of the Islamic religion.

The first creed of Islām is called in Arabic *kalimat al-shahādah,* that is, "the word of testimony." The single word *kalimah* has other uses in Arabic, but in theology it is used elliptically for the whole term: "the word of testimony." In English, simply because of predominant usage, the *kalimah* may be called "the Muslim creed," although it contains only part of the content of the Muslim faith. But the better term in English would be "testimony." Until the better term has come into general use, it will be well to call the *kalimah* "the short creed or testimony."

This "word of testimony" is *lā ilāha illā 'llāh wa muḥammadur-rasūlu'llāh.*[24] This should be translated, "There is no god at all except Allah and Muḥammad is the apostle of Allah." This short creed is wholly Quranic. Its two clauses are not given together in the Qur'ān, but they are found at 47: 21 and 48: 29 in precisely the forms used in the creed. It was the simple acceptance and affirmation of this creed that made men Muslims and made their lives and property inviolable to other Muslims. It is this testimony that is repeated in every call to prayer and every performance of the worship.

The second creed of Islām contains seven items, two of which are usually combined to make six articles. This second statement of faith may also be called "the Muslim creed" but not the *kalimah,* and it may be coordinated with the Apostles' Creed of Christianity. All the elements of this longer statement of faith also are found in the Qur'ān, but the whole creed is first found together only in the books of canonical tradition. To distinguish this creed from the former short creed or testimony, it may be called the longer or

[24] Transliterated as pronounced.

traditional creed. The Arabic term for it is *īmān,* the "faith" of Islām.

The first of the six articles of the traditional Muslim creed is the first part of the *kalimah* or shorter creed. The other articles of faith are belief in (2) the angels, (3) the books of revelation, (4) the prophets, (5) the two items of the resurrection and the day of judgment and (6) the decree of good and evil.

In Christendom the term "creed" is used for the statements of doctrine formulated by the Councils of the Church and also for the statement attributed to Athanasius. In Islām there have never been any councils for the determination of doctrine, but individual theologians have formulated more or less brief summaries of dogma which are called *qawā'id al-'aqā'id* or "the articles of belief or faith." There are many such summaries and they are distinguished by the names of their authors. In English these summaries are generally and properly called "creeds."

A thorough presentation of Muslim theology would of course involve a discussion of all of the articles of these commonly accepted creeds. One way to study the subject would be to follow the development of Muslim dogma in historical order. It would then be seen how strongly the new Arabian religion was influenced by the theological discussions and the philosophical ideas of the world around Arabia. For instance, one of the important subjects of controversy in the Christian Church in the first Muslim centuries was Predestination and Free Will. This is one of the topics that John of Damascus deals with in his treatise instructing Christians how to conduct controversy with Muslims.[25] This same subject gave rise to the earliest dogmatic dissension within Islām, that between the *Qadariyyah,* who believed in free will, and the *Jabriyyah,* who did not.

We have seen how the world of Islām divided into various political communities and drew its constitutional principles from extra-Quranic sources. We saw, further, that Islām did not remain a unity in developing its jurisprudence, but found much of its legal principles and content in laws and customs not included in the Qur'ān and traditions. It is, however, in theology that the greatest number of differences occurred and it is in theology that the world outside Arabia has most strikingly influenced Islām. The articles of faith furnished the Muslims with more subjects of dissension than politics or jurisprudence, and some of the changes of content of that faith are more surprising than the abolition of the caliphate.

The Muslims themselves have dealt thoroughly with the dogmatic dissensions in Islām. Goldziher lists seventeen books written

[25] See THE MOSLEM WORLD, vol. xxv., July, 1935, pp. 266 ff.

on the subject.[26] Other discussions are found in chapters of books on history and biography. The best known of the books devoted exclusively to Muslim dogmatics are the four by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, Ibn Ḥazm al-Qurṭubī, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, and Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī. These and other books of Muslim theology have been painstakingly studied by Western scholars. It has become increasingly apparent that students of Islām must also know the similar literature in Greek, Latin and Syriac produced by the Greek and Roman philosophers and the early Christian Fathers. They need likewise to be well acquainted with the religious literature and history of the contemporary Christian, Jewish, Persian and other non-Muslim communities. Further, constant attention must be given to the journals and books currently published to promote the present-day movements among Muslims.

In presenting this part of our subject, the fundamental structure of the Muslim religion, it will be sufficient for us to limit our discussion to the most important article of the Muslim creed, that is, the doctrine of Allah.

When Muḥammad began his preaching and teaching, he did not claim to introduce a new Deity to the Arabs of Makkah. He claimed to summon his people to the God of the Ḥanifs, the Muslims, the Jews and the Christians. That is definitely stated in the Qur'ān, 29: 45, where it is said, "Our God and your God is one, and we are Muslims to Him." Al-Baiḍāwī interprets the term "Muslim" here untechnically as "obedient."

Muḥammad preached a Semitic religion to the Arabs. His theology was founded on emotion and psychology, rather than on logic and metaphysics. Allah was as real, near and knowable to Muḥammad and his fellow-believers as was Jehovah to the Jews. Muḥammad taught his followers that Allah was a personal God, in that Allah's interest in and control of the life and destinies of His creatures were of the most direct nature. As divine, Allah was transcendent; as Creator, He was unique, and in other respects He was supreme and sublime. Through the revelations which He inspired and through His creative and other activities, He was knowable. When the Qur'ān denies in Sūrah 42: 9 that there is anything like Him, the context shows that the denial refers to polytheism. The whole emphasis of the Qur'ān is to make Allah near as well as exalted, real as well as infinite, personal as well as divine.

The Qur'ān is lavish in its description of Allah. This description is given in the names, epithets and phrases about the character and activity of Allah. It is usual to speak of the Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of Allah. The Muslims themselves employ that number for

[26] *Cf.* also "On the History of Islamic Heresiography," by R. Strothmann, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xii., pp. 5-16.

the Beautiful Names. The lists of ninety-nine names vary. This variation in itself shows that the names number more than ninety-nine. One list [27] containing over five hundred names has been compiled. The Names are the chief basis for the early Muslim knowledge about Allah.

We have mentioned one instance of foreign influence on Islām in determining the subject of theological discussion among Muslims. It was Greek philosophical influence that shaped the Quranic material about Allah into a systematic doctrine. The Muslim theologians [28] equated the Aristotelian category of substance with the Quranic name of "Allah" as His Essence or *dhāt,* and they interpreted all the other divine names as the Attributes or *ṣifāt* of Allah. The one name of "Allah" for His Essence expressed the unity of Being of Allah. The numerous names or attributes expressed the familiar Quranic relationships of Allah to His creatures.

The subjects of theological discussion are important and the classification of the Quranic material about Allah is of course vital. But the content of the doctrine of Allah is most important and most vital for Islamic religion. It is here that the influence of Greek philosophy has been greatest.

The vividness of the Quranic description of Allah developed logically into an anthropomorphic doctrine of Allah, while the emphasis on Allah's transcendence resulted in a doctrine of kenosis which divested Allah of all attributes. Both of these doctrines were rejected by the Muslim majority. In their place a doctrine of Difference was proposed early in Islām's theological development and has since become the doctrine about Allah most widely accepted and most strongly held by all but the Ṣūfī Muslims. The dogma of Allah's Difference (*al-mukhālafah*) means that every term used to describe Allah has a sense of its own, different from the meaning of the same words when they are applied to anything other than Allah. The result is that Allah in all His being, attributes and activities is utterly removed from any measure of knowledge on the part of man.

This doctrine of "difference" is the Muslim application of the Aristotelian concept of the "homonym" to the problem of the names of Allah. A "homonym" is a word which has two different meanings. It was the theologian Jahm bin Safwān, trained in the philosophy of the Greeks, who expanded the Quranic verse of 42: 9 to mean, "There is nothing resembling God, the Exalted, either in His essence, or in His attributes or in His actions." [29] The beggar in the street asserts this same doctrine when he says: "Every idea

[27] J. W. Redhouse, in *J.R.A.S.,* vol. xii. (1880), pp. 1-69.
[28] *Cf. al-Ghazālī, Kitāb al-Maqṣad al-Asnā, Sharḥ Asma' Allah al-Ḥusnā* (Cairo, 1324), p. 28; also *Kitāb Falsafat . . . Ibn Rushd* (Cairo, 1328), p. 58.
[29] *Islamic Culture,* vol. xi., No. 2, April, 1937, p. 222.

that comes to mind, Allah differs from that, you will find." Little does he realize that his strongest conviction about Allah is a helpless agnosticism taught by Greek philosophy, in the place of an appreciation of the personal relationship of an Almighty Creator and Lord to His creatures which is taught by the Qur'ān.

About the doctrine of Allah it is possible to say with much, but not all, of the truth that the Qur'ān taught the Muslims to believe in Allah as different in degree from themselves, and therefore knowable, but that the Aristotelian theologians have taught them to believe that Allah is utterly different in kind from themselves and is therefore wholly removed from their knowledge. It is well to note that the same doctrine of the nature of God was taught in mediæval Judaism by Maimonides, but it did not succeed in dominating Jewish theology as it does that of Islām.

The aspects of the doctrine of Allah that we have considered thus far have dealt with its development within orthodox Islām, the Islām of the strict theologians and the mosque. But there is another phase of Muslim life that has flourished outside the mosques and the canonical observances of Islām, not promoted by the official teachers of the schools and not included within the standard creeds of the religion. The reference is of course to Ṣufism. Much has been learned of the origin and development of this phase of Islām and still more needs to be discovered. There is no doubt that there is a basis for mysticism in the Qur'ān and that it grew naturally within early Islām. But it is also certain that the system of thought and life of the later Muslim mystics is Neoplatonic and is not derived from the Qur'ān.

Confining our attention again to the doctrine of Allah, it may be said that with the Ṣufis the Divine Essence, though transcendent, absolute and ineffable, is nevertheless, through the process of emanation, the source or fount of all essences, with a continuity of being that makes the phenomenal world simply the manifested aspects of God. That is the type of pantheism taught by Plotinus; it is the dominant doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī, the greatest and most influential of the Muslim mystics and is the central theory of Muslim mysticism to this day. It is the key to the Ṣufī's assurance that he may know Allah experientially.

It remains for us to mention the earlier mystics who were orthodox in that they retained the conception of Allah as transcendent Creator and were not pantheistic. These early Ṣufis also gave evidence of the part that foreign ideas have in the development of the Muslim religion. They accept as a tradition from Muḥammad the biblical statement of the creation of Adam in the image of God. This tradition teaches the orthodox mystics that there is a real

resemblance between Allah and man in essence, attribute and activity.[30] The later Ṣufis use the same tradition as both evidence and explanation of their own monistic system.

Enough has now been said to indicate that foreign ideas form a large and vital element of the Muslim doctrines about Allah. The same is more or less the case with the other articles of the Islamic faith. It is true that the Muslim religion is based on the Qur'ān and the other sources recognized as authoritative by the Muslim theologians and lawyers, but it is also true that many doctrines held by the Muslims are extra-canonical. Some articles of the later creeds are not mentioned at all in the Qur'ān, notably details of the eschatology.

The great historians[31] of dogma in Islām in the past have found it necessary to discuss non-Muslim theologies and philosophies because some Muslim religious leaders were affected or directed by them. Scholarly histories of Muslim doctrine will always need to deal with foreign religious influences in the development of the faith of Islām. Judaism, Christianity, Neoplatonism, Zoroastrianism and other religions and philosophies have supplemented the Qur'ān and the traditions as sources for Muslim religious doctrines. They also have a part in the fundamental structure of Islām.

Hartford, Conn. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

[30] D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, pp. 231 f.

[31] Z.D.M.G., vol. xv., pp. 249 ff. *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. Berlin, 1915.

THE ṢŪFĪ POEM, "MILK AND SUGAR"

In the present Shrine area at Meshed there is a room that contains the tomb of Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī (1546-1622). It is the same room that he used for his lectures more than three hundred years ago, and here pilgrims continue to come with prayers and votive offerings. They come here after visiting the tomb of their "sinless" guide and mediator, 'Ali Riḍā, the eighth imām. For did not Shaikh Bahā'i greatly advance the Shi'ite faith, and would not an appreciative word from him on behalf of a suppliant also be of value?

Contemporary with Sir Francis Bacon, he was the principal intellectual ornament at the court of Shah 'Abbās the Great, whom he frequently accompanied on journeys. Especial mention is made of a trek of nearly eight hundred miles, from Isfahan to Meshed, that he made along with his royal patron on foot. While he was recognized during his lifetime as primarily a theologian and a jurist,[1] yet he attracted general interest by his travels outside the Persian empire—to Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Hijāz and Palestine. On some of these tours he assumed at times the guise of a Ṣūfī dervish, and as a result of his wider observations we have the *Kashkūl* ("Beggars' Bowl"), which is a valuable anthology of Arabic stories and verses, with a few Persian verses included. Of his poetical works, the best known are the *Nān u Halwā* ("Bread and Sweetmeats"), which is an unusual and racy account of a pil-

[1] His principal work as a Shi'ite jurist is the *Djāmi'-i-'Abbāsī*, lith. Isfahan, 1329 A.H. It is in the Persian language and was written for the instruction of ordinary believers, and that toward the last of his life, when his strict adherence to the Shi'ite faith had been questioned. The "Life and Persian Verses of Shaikh Bahā'i" (aḥwāl wa ash'ār-i-Farsī-yi-Shaikh Bahā'i), by Saiyid Nafīsī, Teheran, 1938, makes reference to his habit of dissimulation on his travels. In Aleppo he is said to have remarked, "I follow the Sunna and am friendly to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but what can I do when my King is a Shī'ī and kills the Sunnīs?"

grimage to Mecca,[2] and the *Shīr u Shakar* ("Milk and Sugar"), which shows his dissatisfaction with the pretensions and ambitions of his own life, and exalts the mystic way of the Ṣūfīs. Neither of these works has as yet been set forth in an English translation.

The following verses represent the thought of Shaikh Bahā'i's *Shīr u Shakar* almost literally. It is one of the most popular of the shorter Ṣūfī poems, perhaps because the poet-theologian is in a somewhat lighter mood, and has chosen for this particularly personal poem a special "ambling gait," instead of the usual stately metre of the *mathnawī*.

TO THE IDEAL MAN

Thou goal of all being, man the ideal,
The best in the realm of all that is real:
Thou sovereign jewel from out the earth,
Thou gleaming Sun of heavenly birth,
How long wilt thou, by the weight of desire,
Remain in the well, and fail to aspire?

How long, with thy body's nurture laden,
Preferrest thou pots to pearls of Aden?
Fair kingdoms await thee, pray open thine eyes,
O Joseph of Egypt, from the well arise:
For all the land claims thee alone,
The true Sultan upon the throne.

'Twas "Yes" thou said'st on that first day,
And now asleep on the couch of "Nay",
With animal birth thou art content,
That in playing and toying thy life be spent.
With never a tear or expression of strain,
At times it appears thou hast no pain.

Perceive for a moment what a person thou art,
In that *would be* and *could be* better part;
From the sluggard's sleep, try lifting thy head,
No more content by feelings led;
And find escape from material care,
By raising thy hands in fervent prayer.

[2] The resemblance of this poem to the much longer *mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī has given ground for the statement that it "forms a kind of introduction" to that celebrated work, (Ency. Islam, vol. i, p. 327).

By the Imams' Intercession

O God, in Thy bounty I meekly hope,
Thy Perfection and Mercy I humbly invoke;
O God, by the Prophet, Trustee and *batūl*,[3]
And by the two grandsons of the *rasūl*,
By the pious Zain al-'Ābidīn,
By Bāqir's denial and knowledge keen;
O God, O God, by the truth of Ṣādiq,
By the right of Mūsā and the right of *Nāṭiq*,[4]
By Riḍā, the Shah of religion sure,
The eighth Imam, the Trust secure;
O God, by Taqī and what he received,
O God, by Naqī and all he achieved,
By Ḥasan, the king of land and sea,
By the Guide and Protector, the coming Mahdī—
Pray grant that this slave, in guilt and wrong,
Now sunk in the sea of hope that is gone,
Be loosed from the net of bodily wants,
From the chain of the Devil's tempting taunts,—
Thy favour display, an escape provide,
By some special act of mercy wide.

A Personal Plea

On behalf of Bahā'i, I beseech Thee, Lord,
A frustrated man without reward,
Who has spent his life in trifling play,
Neglectful of what the Law would say.
Release him from his constraining grief,
For gripped by the hand of unbelief,
And absorbed with base and earthly cares,
He is trapped by thousands of evil snares.
Regard with mercy his suffering lot,
Unravel his life's perplexing knot,
And meet him, O Lord, at the door of delight,
Admit him, O Lord, to the joy of Thy sight,
And from the world pray set him free,
On the wheel of impassioned love for Thee.

[3] The "Prophet" Muḥammad is believed to have designated 'Alī bin Abū Ṭālib as his "Trustee" (*waṣī*). He is the first of the Twelve Imams. The Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, perhaps by later comparison with the Virgin Mary, is designated as *batūl* (virgin), though she may have been so called because she was not married until she was fifteen years old. Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the second and third imams, were her sons, and thus "the two grandsons of the Apostle (*rasūl*)." The fourteen mediators, whose intercession is sought, are the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, and the Twelve Imams,—'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Zain al-'Ābidīn, Muḥammad Bāqir, Ja'far Ṣādiq, Mūsā Kāẓim, 'Alī Riḍā, Muḥammad Taqī, 'Alī Naqī, Ḥasan al-'Askarī, and the Mahdī.

[4] This is a concession to the Seveners (*sab'īya*), who considered Muḥammad al-Támm, the son of Ismā'īl and the nephew of Mūsā Kāẓim, to be the seventh *náṭiq* (speaker). The others in succession are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, (Cf. Ency. Islam, iv, 23).

REBUKING LUSTFUL DESIRE

O wind from the East, for a man in need,
To the city of sinners go with speed;
Blow hard towards the quarter far removed,
By selfish desire and trivial mood;
Declare thyself to Bahā'i the base:
"Thou *man,* with a name that is black of face,
A human life of wasted time,
Cease striking your foot with that axe of thine.

"How long must thou suffer in sin and shame,
Thou guilty offender, black of name?
Arrived at sixty and yet debased,
With playing and toying still drunk and disgraced!
Of old we thought by the thirtieth year
Thou would'st have found thy true career,
But at thirty instruction from God's own word
Had failed to deter thee from conduct absurd.

"From thirty to forty what more was there gained,
Save folly's own fruitage more fully attained?
And now as thy sixtieth year begins,
Thou art not for a moment free from sins.
In the way of God thou hast not stayed,
On the tablet of duty no entry is made.

"Still drunk with the passion of earthly greed,
Disgrace and shame thou dost not heed,
O free thyself from men of pride,
And give of your time to hearts sore tried;
For worthless is glass as soon as it breaks,
Save the glass of a heart whenever it aches."

O bearer of the cup of wine,
I deplore this lustful body of mine;
But grant a flash from the realm of light,
And give a draught from thy cup so bright;
From me with ease it assuredly flings,
This worn old quilt of material things.

Is it thou who art used to bookman's lore
Who hast never sensed the truth before?
Thy heart is hot with the wisdom of Greeks,
But cold in the need of the wisdom it seeks;
Thyself thou deemest to be a savant,
And yet at thy zenith thou feelest a want.

The door is not opened by wisdom's key,
Nor will explanation set it free.
The secret purpose of all its designs,
The dawn that lies hidden below sky-lines,
Are only suggestions of what it conceals,
So the heart is not gladdened by what it reveals.

Why reap this knowledge and gather no grain,
Why read the *Shifā* and groan with pain? [5]
How long for another tasty sup,
Wilt thou cling to the dregs of the Devil's cup?
The Prophet approved what a believer may leave,
But Aristotle's dregs deceive.

Think only of what the Prophet left,
On him let your final trust be set;
Go boldly forward in his way,
The bread of the Law eat day by day;
With no fear or doubt on the path you tread,
No bitter water, no tasteless bread.

Why boast of philosophic proof,—
Of dry and wet to weave the woof
When the loom is cracked and broken down?
Alas, thou showest thyself a clown,
For to thy shame men are appalled
At what thou hast "Ten Reasons" called.

Though naught but wind thou hast in hand,
Thy "demonstrations" we demand:
Is infinite extension true?
Do brilliant colours lose their hue
When darkness comes? Or with such deceit
Do Sophists still with Devils meet?

To obtain this lore, thinking such thy need,
Thou ridest two horses at racing speed;
And boastest of books thou dost peruse,—
Mere excrements of the Grecian Muse—
Like a fly on manure at the stable door,
Thou buzzest around leavings of men of yore.

How long in the thralls of unbeliefs,
Still building walls of books and briefs,
While turning thy back on the holy Quran,
All heedless of rules by Muhammad drawn,

[5] The *Shifā* (Remedy) is the title of a book on physics and metaphysics by Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā.

And bereft of merit from the Law,
Wilt thou fail to trust in Murtaḍá?

In bowls pour forth the wine that is good,
The wine that takes the place of food,
And give to the crazed Bahā'i, I say,
Enough to last throughout the day;
That though on earth his work must cease,
His heaven-born fame may yet increase!

KNOWLEDGE FOR THE RETURN

Content to be far below thy rank,
And yet with intellectual swank,
To science thou givest thyself on a lease.
Thy legs grow numb and feelings cease,
But of mathematics thou wilt swear
That a thousand follies thou can'st declare.

For what in the realm of spirit is real
Thou hast no wish the truth to feel.
There's naught between those parallel lines
But the sense of loss thou hast at times.
When the day of promise comes around
From thy musical notes there'll be no sound.

In the grave, when questioned about thy vice,
The astrolabe will not suffice
To point to the door from whence we came,
For its coin is false and its Pegasus lame.
From science therefore what dost thou seek,
Thus hither and thither week by week?

Acquire the science that makes thee free
From the complicated things that be,
The knowledge that gives the heart true light,
With Sinai's radiant lustre bright.
Such knowledge thou should'st strive to attain
That may a "Preserved Tablet" gain.

What a book will merely cramp and bind,
The yearning soul may freely find;
Without being forced by what is base,
And forever quoting the legal case.
In silence it seeks to learn the way
Its secrets may be known today.

Without dispute, let science be
A state of being and not a plea.
If science is a gift of gab,
It is lit from the lamp of Abū Lahab.
The only science fit for thee
Is one in which men's hearts agree.

How long this pride in hidden lore,
Provoking discussions evermore?
It is easy to change thy brass to gold,
To change the *self* is the task of old.
For incantations and deceit
The eager soul but cruelly cheat.

Thy charms and talismans are vain,
No profit from them canst thou gain.
In searching thyself thou mayest be certain
No voice proceedeth from the curtain;
For knowledge of how new lives begin
Is a wisdom of love that starts within.

And love is the key to all the wealth
Of treasures gained denying self.
Thou sittest aloof to pleasures and pains,
While the key in thy bosom yet remains.
When the ring of love adorns thine ear,
Of love then speak, in love but hear.

Its light will shine to set thee free
From mean distraction and injury;
For all its radiance 'twill employ
The secret idol to destroy.
And if thou fain would'st question me,
It comes from 'Alī, the *wasī*.

From heaven let one vessel of wine,
Pressed not by foot of man, be thine,
O Bahā'i, sad and weary soul,
Still bound by lusts beyond control:
Unbind the yoke and stocks of greed,
Till head and foot at last are freed.

THE COMPANIONS OF THE MYSTIC STATE

Those loving Thy beauty, consumed by flames,
Are tossed on the sea of Thy gracious names.

At the gate of Thy bounty they stand in pain,
A fleeting glimpse of Thy face to gain.
While drowning in tears of vain desire,
They feel within a constant fire!

They place the foot where the head should be,
When wildly searching after Thee,
At the fountain of life they wish to drink,
Thy thoughts alone they care to think;
Whether living or dying, we hear them cry,
The fame of love can never die!

How happy is he who knows them well,
When the sorrowing heart has much to tell.
O God, to Bahā'i's wasted life,
But grant a time of peace from strife,
That guided by their friendship true,
This grateful man may seek Thee too.

REPENTANCE AND RETURNING TO GOD

No more a duck with head concealed,
Let all thou hidest be revealed.
How long wilt thou follow a way perverse,
For "falsehood has vanished", recall the verse;[6]
Repent, and cleanse thyself from sin,
And bounty and favour thou yet mayest win.

Repent, and secure the blessings that last,
And escape the result of the evil past;
Repent, and enter the door of peace;
But in crying "O Lord" thou must not cease,
Nor give up hope that He will forgive
A hardened sinner not fit to live.

Though sin has brought the utmost shame,
His kindness and compassion claim.
Divine forgiveness has no bounds,[7]
His voice to the very depths resounds—
But let not violence assail
And o'er thy *will* to peace prevail.

Thou gentleman scholar, how long must thou say
To the wretched Bahā'i, "Repent!", I pray?
He repents by day, he annuls it at night.

[6] Quran, 17:84, "And say, 'Truth has come, and falsehood has vanished; verily, falsehood is transient.'"

[7] Cf. Hafiz, Clarke's trans., ii, p. 574, "Greater than our sin (*jurm*) is God's grace (*'afw*)."

In suspending repentance he takes delight,
And with "would be" and "may be" is quite content,
Both morning and evening to fail to repent.

O friendly bearer of the cup of glee,
A thousand troubles I bring to thee;
So fill me a bowl of heavenly wine,
For to ways of pleasure I'll resign,
And a care-free life once more begin,
On finding repentance worse than sin.

O thou who praisest in words sublime,
My heart is afflicted all the time;
With this new praise of promise sure,
My deepest sorrow thou canst cure,
Expressing the yearning of a soul in awe,
Allāhu! Allāhu! Allāhu! Allāh!

For God's own praise of things on earth,
An astonishing verse of permanent worth,
That came when the world arose from the void,
To give to man things he's enjoyed,
Declare it then in words understood,
From heaven's height proclaim, *"It is good!"*

Now may the "pure in heart" assist,
And "leaders of the Faith" insist,
That this unusual ambling rhyme
May find its proper place in time,—
May with the artist's taste comply,
And yet the public satisfy.

Meshed, Iran DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

ABRAHAM AMIRKHANIANZ

Abraham (Beg) Amirkhanianz was born on November 30, 1838, in Shoosha, Caucasus. He was the only son of Mirza Farookh Beg Amirkhan, whose biography must be mentioned in short strokes in order to understand the wonderful manner in which Abr. Amirkhanianz was prepared for the work he accomplished with God's help.

The family of Mirza Farookh was living at a village near Shoosha and Araxes, at the Persian frontier. At the age of six while playing on the road together with two other boys, the three children were stolen by Persian soldiers on horseback, and were taken to Persia. Here he was given to a noble, Commander-in-chief Amirkhan-Serdar, who being unmarried, passed the lad on to his sister, wife of the Persian Shah. Farookh was brought up as a Mohammedan, and received his education from the best teachers, together with the other princes at the Court. Acquiring Transcaucasian Turki (Azerbedjian), Persian and Arabic, he became the secretary of Amirkhan-Serdar, who not only adopted him, but also gave him the title of Mirza. Later on he was elevated to the rank of Beg. A marriage between him and a Persian princess was projected. A bright future lay before Farookh. Incidentally he learnt that he was by birth an Armenian and a Christian. With the permission of his adoptive father he visited his parents at Shoosha. The conversation he had with them changed the current of his life, so that when Amirkhan-Serdar was killed during the war between Persia and Russia, Mirza Farookh Beg Amirkhan, taking only his sword jumped on his horse and, leaving behind him the glory and riches of the Persian Court, fled over the frontier to the insignificant Armenian village to his

parents. Here, the first question that interested him was the difference between Islam and Christianity.

He got acquainted with the Basel missionaries Drs. Pfander and Zaremba, as well as Mr. Dietrich, who soon converted the learned Mohammedan to true Christianity. Before long he had learned Ararat Armenian, his mother tongue, and Russian, the official language. Owing to his knowledge of the various languages, he became one of the principal cooperators with the above-mentioned Basel missionaries, who were working principally amongst Armenians by founding schools, and by spreading tracts and Bibles in Armenian, Turki and Persian. As Bible work, may be here mentioned his translation of Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament in Turki, which with the help of Dr. Pfander was brought into harmony with the Greek.

His son, Abraham, subject of this article, inherited his linguistic power. As a boy he helped his father, who was a teacher, and from his father he learnt Persian, Turki and Arabic, knowledge that in his later years was of great value for his literary work.

At the death of his father in 1857, Amirkhanianz corresponded with Dr. Zaremba, who had been compelled by the Russian government to retire from Russia. It was arranged for Amirkhanianz to go to Reval, (not far from Petersburg), where he came under the deep influence of the great preacher and theologian Dr. Hahn. He also followed a course in theology at the German university, at Dorpat, from where he was sent to Basel, where he studied at the Mission Institute for six years (1859-1865) under the supervision of Inspector Josenhans and Superintendent Dr. Gess. In Germany he was ordained as Lutheran pastor, since the Russian government allowed only the Lutheran Church to exist in Russia as a Protestant institution.

In the meantime a religious movement having taken place in Transcaucasia amongst Armenians, it was proposed that Amirkhanianz should become pastor to the new community, but the Russian government, hostile to all evangelical movements declined to permit him to enter on his duties. On

the proposal of his friends at Basel, he went to Constantinople, where for seven years he was engaged with Dr. Schauffler, as pastor of the Armenian Protestant community. For three years more he aided Dr. Koelle of the British Church Missionary Society. Khrimian, the patriarch of the Armenian Gregorian Church at Constantinople, invited him (although a Protestant) to be head of the Gregorian orthodox Theological School, and in this position he remained for another three years.

Here he married the daughter of one of the first pioneers in the Armenian evangelical movement. Agape Baghdassarian was pupil at the American Missionary School, newly founded by Dr. Hamlin. This in later years became the Constantinople College. She was a worthy comrade to Amirkhanianz throughout his life, never swerving from her post, helping him through hardships and persecutions.

In the meantime the Basel Missionary Society was starting a fresh mission for Persia, and appointed Amirkhanianz to go to Tabriz, where no missionary was stationed. But Rev. P. L. Easton, of the A. B. C. F. M., had come there from America six weeks before his arrival, so Amirkhanianz was withdrawn from Persia, and passed over to Russia, Caucasus, where he settled with his family at Tiflis. Owing to his knowledge of Western European and Eastern languages he became teacher at the German School, as well as at the Russian War School.

During his stay at Constantinople he had begun, at the suggestion of Dr. Thompson, of the Foreign and British Bible Society, a revision of Diedrich's Ararat Armenian New Testament. A year later he was engaged by Mr. Watt, agent of the same Society for South Russia, on behalf of the Society, to undertake the revision of the Ararat Armenian. He was, however, in fact commissioned to make a new translation from the Hebrew and Greek, as the Basel missionaries had worked only from the Ancient Armenian text. In five years' time this great undertaking was completed, in 1881. The translation after having been carefully examined at Constantinople, was approved and put in

the press. Marginal references as well as chapter headings were added by Amirkhanianz for this new and beautiful edition.

Another important work occupied the attention of Amirkhanianz, while he was working at the Ararat Armenian. His father had left behind him a translation of the New Testament in Transcaucasian Turki from Henry Martyn's version. The son revised the version from the Greek and supplied a translation of the Epistle to the Romans, which was not found amongst his father's manuscripts. On the completion of the New Testament, Amirkhanianz undertook the translation of the Old, from the Hebrew to Turki, and completed it in 1883, in three years' time. It was passed through the press in 1889.

In addition to the above translation he cooperated with Drs. Radloff and Sauerwein in carrying through the press Ostrumoff's version of the Four Gospels in the Uzbek-Turki or Sart language, published in 1891. Further, St. Matthew's Gospel in Jagati was printed under his care in 1884 and he helped to revise St. Matthew in Kurmuk, in 1888.

Part of this tremendous translation work was completed while he was at Tiflis, Caucasus, where he, together with the Swedish missionaries Höjer, Högberg and Sarwe, took an active part in the evangelical movement (Stundism) in Russia. In the middle of the past century, Lord Radstock came to St. Petersburg, where owing to his noble birth and his relations all the doors were open to him. A wave of religious revival swept through the Russian Court and aristocracy and passed on into the country amongst the peasantry. Persons of such high standing as Col. Pashkoff, Count Corff, Princesses Liven, Gagarin, Count Bobrinsky, etc., were among those converted through the word preached by Lord Radstock. Later on most of them had to pay for it, by being condemned to heavy punishments and even exiled for the sake of their faith. In Caucasus Amirkhanianz was considered by the Russian government as one of the important propagators of this movement. In 1889 he

was suddenly arrested by the authorities and exiled to Orenbourg, in the Ooral. His wife, together with their seven children, voluntarily followed him there. One of the brightest days during his exile was when he had the joy of being visited there by Dr. Baedecker of Weston-super-Mare, one of the very few foreigners who had the permission to visit Russian and Siberian prisoners and distribute Bibles amongst them.

While there, Amirkhanianz, upon the intervention of the Swedish government with the Russian government, was allowed to be present at the Orientalist-Congress at Stockholm under the patronage of King Oskar II. Returning to his exile he passed through Finland, which left a deep impression on him. When, thanks to the intervention of a Russian of high standing and owing to his cooperation in a large dictionary edited by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Russia, he was freed, he chose Finland as residence.

Free from the restraint under which he was forbidden to preach the Word, his joy was great to be allowed to publish again the Good Tidings. He worked among young men and women, and was one of the founders of the Y. W. C. A. in Helsingfors. As a fundamentalist he led the campaign against new theology and theosophy. During his residence in Finland this faithful servant of the Lord received much Christian love and sympathy, which he remembered until his last days. A chair of Oriental languages at the Helsingfors University was offered to him, but he preferred to be only a preacher and missionary.

In 1895, when the massacres of Armenians in Turkey were going on, he was incidentally at a religious conference in Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm II declaring himself as the protector of Moslems, Amirkhanianz considered it his duty to remain in Germany and to enlighten the public as to the true causes of the annihilation of the Armenian nation. He was then invited by a Committee to organize relief work amongst the Armenian refugees in Bulgaria, the only country that opened its doors for thousands and thousands of defenceless and wretched refugees. He accepted this duty

toward his countrypeople, but on the condition that later on missionary work amongst the Moslems should be started, and carried on by him. A better qualified person for such a purpose could not have been found: he was unusually well instructed in the Koran and the Moslem religion by his father, who had been a learned Mohammedan; his knowledge of both Oriental and Western languages could be of greatest use, and lastly, born in the Orient, he had a perfect knowledge of the customs and habits of the people among whom he was to work. His opinion was that Armenians could revenge themselves on Turks only by leading their greatest enemies to the feet of our Lord and Saviour.

As the methods used by the German Committee were not to his liking and his only condition, mentioned above was not fulfilled, he was obliged to leave the Committee, and establish himself as an independent missionary among Moslems at Varna, in Bulgaria. Unsupported by any organization, he put his faith in the Almighty, Who had helped him through until then, and during the last seventeen years that he was allowed to work, he completed a tremendous task, which consisted in the translation of the Koran into Turki, presumably the first version from the original Arabic in a modern language used by Moslems. On the opposite pages was published the New Testament, so that the Moslems could judge for themselves of the great difference between Christ's and Mohammed's teachings. This work was completed in 1908, at Varna.[1] In order that the Armenians should get better acquainted with the Moslems and their religion, he translated the Koran into Ararat Armenian, together with the biography of Mohammed and an explanation of the Moslem faith. A series of tracts treating the Koran, Moslem theology and traditions were published in Turki. About 1910, fifteen years before Ataturk, he printed a project of the Turkish alphabet, in Latin letters.

In 1896, when he left Finland, where he was greatly appreciated, and decided to become a missionary in Bulgaria, Amirkhanianz was a broken man: in a year's time he had

[1] Mentioned in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Oct., 1938, p. 398, "Turkish Translations of the Koran"—Varna Edition.

buried his eldest two sons, one twenty-five and the other twenty-two years of age, and he himself was in a weak physical condition, as he had passed through a serious operation. During the twenty years' illness, and through twelve subsequent operations which he had to undergo, his faithful wife stood by and nursed him through. Notwithstanding his feeble physical condition, and unsupported as he was, it was wonderful how God helped him to accomplish the work planned for him. A friend from Finland, who had been converted through him, presented him with a house. Thanks to the support of missionary and personal friends in Finland, Sweden and Denmark he received the necessary funds for the printing and for his work. His energy was undiminished by the poor state of his health. He opened a school for Armenian children; he preached in Armenian, Turkish, and Russian for Bulgarians; he often visited the German colonies in Rumania, preaching and performing all the duties of a Lutheran pastor, administering baptism to the children, marrying, burying, etc., in view of the fact that they were uncared for in this direction. The Synod in Berlin was much indebted to him for these free services. Until the very last, when he was bedridden, he read and made notes for future tracts. In his Islamic studies he was encouraged in his last years by Dr. Zwemer, who corresponded with him, although they did not personally know each other. Swedish, Finnish and Danish friends were faithful until the end.

On the 16th of February, 1913, during the Balkan war, Missionary Pastor Abraham Amirkhanianz, the loyal warrior in Christ's cause, was called to rest by the Almighty.

Varna, Bulgaria. ESSER AMIRKHANIANZ.

BOOK REVIEWS

Melanchthon und der Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Klarung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreligionen in der Reformationszeit. By Manfred Köhler. Leipzig: Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1938. pp. 164.

This monograph was prepared by the author as a dissertation for the University of Leipzig in the Department of The History of Religions. Before the thesis was completed, however, the death of Professor Haas led to the submission of the thesis to the faculty of Jena, where it was accepted, and is now published. As we learn from the introduction, there was general ignorance of Islam in Europe for 500 years after the Hejira. Dante the poet puts Mohammed with Judas and Beelzebub in the lowest inferno. Historians and theologians generally were ignorant not only of the origin of Islam but of its teaching. Whatever accounts we have of this world-religion are unhistorical, uncritical and unsympathetic. The very titles of the books written during this period are indicative of the general attitude, for example: *Confutatio, Improbatio, Cribratio Alchorani, Contra Alcoranum, De statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudopropheta, Notationes contra Mahometi dogmata.*

At the time of the Reformation there was slight change for the better. Luther was deeply interested in Islam, the religion of the Turks. His writings have been the subject of special studies in this respect by Vossberg, Holston, Simon and Barge. The present study relates to Melanchthon, who was himself a careful student of all that Luther wrote on the subject. Melanchthon's viewpoint is, however, of greater importance because he was an historian as well as a theologian. The material for the present study consists in Melanchthon's letters, commentaries, poems and especially a number of introductions that he wrote to books by various writers, dealing with the Turks and Islam. The author has classified this material under three divisions: (1) Melanchthon's Darstellung des Islam; (2) Melanchthon's Kritik des Islam; and (3) Melanchthon's Standort innerhalb der Religionswissenschaft. Under the first division we have an account of Mohammed's life, of Islam as a sect and of the Turks as representing the political power of this religion. In the second section, Melanchthon points out that Islam is a heresy based on fiction. The Moslem errs in his knowledge of God, in his denial of the person and offices of Christ, in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and especially in his soteriology. He accuses Islam of Eudæmonism and Hedonism, and states that it is the enemy of true culture, because of its social ethics in regard to marriage and slavery. The concluding section (pages 105-164) gives a summary of Melanchthon's position in the History of Religions. The author holds that Melanchthon, while emphasizing the absolute character of Christianity, por-

trays his ignorance of the real strength of Islam and its vital elements. He does not rid himself of medieval indifference to the missionary call and intolerance of all kinds of "heresies." Neither Melanchthon nor Luther, in spite of their partial knowledge of this non-Christian religion was ever stirred in his heart to propose missions to Moslems. The book closes with this sentence "An eine Mission unter Muhammedanern hat Luther, auch darin sich mit Melanchthon berührend, nie gedacht." S. M. ZWEMER.

Islam. By Henri Massé, translated from the French by Halide Edib. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. pp. 260 plus index 10. $2.50.

According to the author, this book is intended as "a sketch of the historical evolution of Islam," and the method of procedure is to treat the material under the following six major and comprehensive headings: The Rise of Islam, Arab Hegemony, The Foundations of the Law, Dogma and Law, Religious and Philosophical Evolution, and the Turkish and Persian Hegemony.

Each of the chapters is a compendium of factual information, very obviously written by a man with encyclopedic learning. The way in which this Professor of Arabic and Persian Literature at the University of Algiers and the Paris School of Oriental Studies has culled the salient facts from the maze of his knowledge is notable. Sentence by sentence, the Foundations of the Law are laid down, or the poignant aspects of Dogma and Law are masterfully singled out, until finally the reader has a detailed study of historic Islam.

The book has an additional advantage over many general accounts of Islam in that it deals with the developments in the Muslim world after the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols.

It is convenient to have so much elusive information so concisely stated within the confines of one volume, and yet the practical value of the book seems somewhat restricted for that very reason.

The student of Islam is likely to find the contents an orderly enumeration of facts probably already familiar to him, and the ill-informed reader may find the mass of technical statements and explanations bewildering. An impressionistic treatment of the subject-matter would probably be of more interest and value to the lay person, and a more creative interpretation of facts would presumably be of more interest and value to the professional person.

Unfortunately, many incorrect statements of a minor nature, and dreadful spellings and transliterations mar the beauty of the book.

Many questions are here answered, and all those desiring a comprehensive background of Islam will welcome the volume, and will rejoice that it is now available in English.

Manchester by-the-Sea, Massachusetts. PAUL SIMPSON MCELROY.

The Content of Indian and Iranian Studies. By H. W. Bailey. The Macmillan Company, New York. pp. 35. 75¢.

This little book contains the inaugural lecture delivered by Dr. Bailey as he assumed the Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. It attempts to define the group of Indian and Iranian studies as interpreted by present-day scholarship. It is staggering in

its comprehension and in the vast scope of things which are now considered necessary for an adequate department of such studies in a university. It will not be necessary in this short review even to point out the directions that are taken by Dr. Bailey in this analysis or the relationship of this approach to the whole field of Comparative Philology.

It has long been recognized that there must be some overlapping between the fields of Indic studies and Islamic. This usually took the form of conjectures and questions as to the ultimate relationships of Iranian Muslim Mysticism to the Indian Schools of Vedanta and Bhakti. Such things are scarcely mentioned in this lecture, but rather implied in the suggestion of the value of a study of the Indian vernacular languages to the whole field. There is, however, a vast area almost newly recognized where Islamic studies and Indian overlap. The following quotations will suffice to show wherein this is so:

> "Outside India we see in the west that the Persians early interested themselves in this literature. Two famous collections of stories, the book of beast fables, the Sanskrit Pancatantra, which was known in a Persian translation in Persia in the sixth century under the Sasanian kings, and the book of the legend of the Bodhisattva, that is, the aspirant to Buddhist enlightenment, under the name of Barlaam and Joasaph, spread through Persia and Syria to the whole Islamic world and to other parts of Europe. One great student we know, the Muhammadan scholar, the Chorasmian Al-Bairuni, who lived from A. D. 973 to 1048. He stands out from his fellows. To secure solid results for his book on India, he made himself familiar with Sanskrit, then, as for many now, the language of learning in India. But there were among the Arabs and Persians no studies, no editions and no encyclopaedias gathering up Sanskrit learning in the original language." (pp. 6-7)
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> "One reads, in a recent History of Sanskrit Literature from South India, for example, that the English paraphrase of the Persian Omar Khayyam, which we owe to Fitzgerald, has been rendered into Sanskrit which is 'superb.' In South India particularly, there has been very considerable activity in Sanskrit composition to the present day." (p. 11)
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> "Turkish has been well represented among the Central Asian manuscripts. Many of the texts are translations from Sanskrit and official documents. For the most part these have been texts written in the Sogdian script, which is of Aramaic origin, but the old Turkish script of the Orqon inscriptions has also been discovered. But for Indian studies a still more interesting fact is the use of the Indian Brahmi script for the writing of Turkish. Only a small part has yet been published, but that little is of importance. It is one of the difficulties of Turkish studies that the scripts usually employed do not clearly distinguish the vowels. This the Indian alphabet was able to do. We can therefore see how these Turks understood their own language. It has not been usual to associate Turks with Sanskrit studies. It is therefore interesting that one of these texts is bilingual. A Sanskrit text is explained in Turkish.

"The Khotanese texts are likely to be of importance for Turkish history. Here there are many references to the Turkish chiefs, to the Khaghan, the khans, the tegins, the chors, and the saghuns; and reference also to the many Turkish tribes. Chinese histories of this period have little to say of the Turks in the tenth century, and the new information is therefore doubly welcome." (pp. 28-29)

This relationship between the fields of Eastern studies is perhaps a part of a newly conceived network of relationships which must be known more comprehensively and so taught in our Universities. The meticulous nature of Asiatic research has necessarily, up to this point, obscured what would be obvious influences one upon the other, if these departments were very closely related. It is hoped that experiments which are now proceeding, may throw these influences into truer perspective.

Hartford. MALCOLM PITT.

La Science Arabe et son Rôle dans L'Evolution Scientifique Mondiale. Par Aldo Mieli avec quelques additions de H. P. J. Renaud, Max Meyerhof et Julius Ruska. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1939. 8vo, pp. xix+388. 12:50 guilders.

There is always some confusion as to what is meant by Arab Science, Arab Philosophy, Arab Medicine, or Arab Mathematics. Indian Muslim writers usually want to credit it all to the religion of Islam, as though it were Islamic Science, Islamic Philosophy, etc. Yet, though it flourished for the most part in Muslim kingdoms, its exponents were in many cases Jews or Christians, and so far from being the product of the religion of Islam, we find it flourishing best under those Muslim rulers who sat most loosely to their religion, and only too often the rise to power of Islamic orthodoxy stifled it. Nor is it the product of the Arab people. Very, very few of the names famous in this field are names of men who were Arab by race. It is not even strictly correct to define it as the cultural movement which found its expression through the medium of the Arabic language, for in some cases the works concerned were written in Hebrew or Syriac or Persian. Perhaps the only definition possible is to say that by it is meant that movement of culture which was stirred up in lands overrun by the Arab conquest, from Moorish Spain in the West to Northern India in the East, which developed in communities largely dominated by Islam, and which for the most part expressed itself through the Arabic language.

Arab science thus defined had a definite role in the general history of science. Nearly all great waves of conquest seem to bring about a quickening in the intellectual life of the lands affected by the conquest. It is as though the sluggishness that had lain upon them, being rudely disturbed by this sudden and drastic change, presently drops away to be replaced by a new activity of mind and spirit. The necessity of rethinking life-values, readjusting to a new situation, reformulating life relationships, which is thrust upon them, brings in its train renewed mental activity in other directions. In the case of the Arab conquest, the Arabs themselves were avid to acquire the new things that occupation of lands of older culture and contact

with peoples of higher intellectual attainment had opened up to them. The peoples of the conquered lands, in their turn, shaken out of their old ways, bestirred themselves to assess anew their cultural heritage in terms of the new condition of affairs. So that in the early period of the Muslim empire there was great activity both on the part of Arabs acquiring the new culture, and on the part of non-Arabs in transmitting it.

In both philosophy and science the Arab period, while of no little importance for the general history of culture, was not so much a period of creativity as of transmission. A distinguished modern scholar goes so far as to say that Islam has not contributed a single *new* idea to our civilization. What happened in the Arab period was that the culture of the more ancient peoples was taken up with a new interest, developed in line with that new interest, and transmitted in this fresh form to the West, where it stirred creative activity, and was one of the factors in the revival of learning which ushered in our modern scientific period. To the east of these Arab lands was the older culture of India and China. To the west of them was the Hellenic culture, mediated for the most part through Syrian and Persian forms. The Chinese contribution seems to have been small, and in the scientific sphere almost negligible. The Indian contribution was considerable but was not an early contribution. On the whole it is correct to regard Arab science as a continuation of the Greek tradition, or more precisely of the Eastern Hellenic form of the Greek tradition.

This Arab period may be considered to have begun in the ninth century of our era, when in Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt, Muslim centres of government had solidly established themselves in areas where the subject populations were culturally representatives of this Hellenic tradition, and it virtually came to an end at the close of the thirteenth century, after which, though scientific works continued for a time to appear in Arabic, they ceased to have any influence outside the limited area of the Islamic peoples themselves. The great period of Arab science was during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when its works of greatest influence were written, works which in many cases were translated into Latin and widely used and discussed in the Schools of the West. It is true that in different areas, in Persia, in Syria, in Egypt, in Andalus (Muslim Spain), this Arab science had its individual characteristics, dependent in part on the characteristic native culture of the different areas, but its expression was for the most part in the Arabic language common to the whole of the Islamic empire, so that what appeared in one area was quickly known in the others, and in a real sense represented a common culture.

Mieli's book is a survey rather than a history of Arab science. Indeed, with so much essential material still in manuscript waiting to be edited, so many problems still uninvestigated, it is hardly possible to write a history of Arab science. What our author has done is to summarize what we know, place it in its perspective in the general history of science, and provide full references to all available material. In this respect it is a most valuable contribution. The great difficulty facing such a work is that the scholar familiar with the history of science is not likely to be an Arabist, while the competent

Arabist is not likely to have any sound knowledge of the individual sciences, or of the more general field of the history of science. M. Mieli is a Secretary of the International Academy for the History of Science, and has as his special field the development of science in antiquity. That he is not an Arabist is obvious from his numerous slips in dealing with Arabic titles, etc., all through the work. That may be forgiven him, however, as it is almost always possible for the Arabist to see what the correct forms should be. Perhaps the ideal thing would have been to have the various fields of science—Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy, Alchemy, Botany, etc.,—treated by an expert in each field, so as to secure completeness in the treatment of each and accuracy in the references. This, however, would hardly have been practicable, and would have meant the loss of that co-ordination and balance which can best be secured by one mind embracing and assessing all the material. We have here a clear and intelligible survey which attempts to present to us the whole story in due proportion, and for the sake of such a survey we must bear with the deficiencies in the different fields covered.

The arrangement of the material is historical. There is an introductory chapter on the antecedents, the ancient science—Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Hindu—which represents the beginning of scientific endeavour in the various fields, and the Greek miracle, whereby science in our sense of the term was born. The main part of the work then comes in thirteen sections—(1) L'effondrement de la science ancienne; (2) Naissance et développement de l'Islam: (3) Les origines de la science arabe; son caractère: (4) L'apogée de la science arabe en Orient (5) La décadence des xiie et xiiie siècles en Orient: (6) Les Arabes en Ibérie: (7) Première éclosion des sciences dans l'Ibérie musulmane: (8) L'âge d'or de la science arabo-ibérique: (9) Le déclin de la science arabo-ibérique: (10) Premières transmissions de la science arabe à l'occident chrétien: (11) La transmission dans la péninsule Ibérique: (12) La naissance d'une science nouvelle dans les pays chrétiens: (13) Nos connaissances actuelles sur la science arabe et l'œuvre de l'académie internationale d'histoire des Sciences. An appendix carries on the story of a few scientific writers of some importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The method in this book is to present brief historical surveys in paragraph form, each paragraph being followed by a series of notes giving critical treatment of points raised, technical information, and indications of both source material and modern discussions of the problems involved. In this way, by attending to the paragraphs alone and neglecting the notes, the reader can gain a summary survey of the whole area of the contributions of Arab science, or by watching the rubrics, the reader interested in the various fields—Medicine or Mathematics, or whatever it may be—can follow the progress in his own field of interest through the different periods, without being embarrassed by losing his thread amid the discussions on developments in other fields. Finally in the Bibliography and in the elaborate Indices of persons, sects, schools and works, he has a convenient clue to the notes in which he will find more detailed information on points which may specially interest him.

The range of what is included as science is wide. Theologians and

philosophers necessarily receive scant notice, though it is of no little interest to see the distinguished place in the ranks of science proper held by some writers who to most of us are famous rather for their works in the field of theology. Historians and encyclopædists receive due note, and also some of the compilers of biographical dictionaries, for these are of much service to the historian of science. One may perhaps register a grievance that the Arabic grammarians do not figure more prominently. Philology surely has a claim to be included among the sciences, and we should have been grateful for accounts of the Schools of Baṣra, Kūfa and Baghdād as full and well documented as those given for, say the geographers. A useful addition would have been a map of the Arab world to which the reader could have turned to locate the "Salamiya près d'Emesa" and a hundred other place names referred to in the text, which may be familiar to the professional Orientalist but are not necessarily so to the general reader interested in this little-known period in the history of science.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

El-Irchad. Par Imam el-Haramein (Ve siècle Hégire) édité et traduit par J.-D.Luciani. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1938.

This fine volume includes the Arabic text and a French translation of the *Irshād* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, and it is deeply to be regretted that the death of the editor and translator, M. Luciani, has robbed us of the introduction which he had intended to write, on the life and work of the author.

The latter, Abu'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī, "Imam of the Two Sanctuaries," so-called because he taught at both Mecca and Medina, later took up teaching at Nīshāpūr. There he taught for nearly thirty years and made a great reputation for himself as a teacher, and it is not the least of his claims to fame that among his students at Nīshāpūr was the greatest of Islamic mystic theologians, Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, "the Proof of Islam." When the Imam al-Ḥaramayn died in A. D. 1085, it is recorded that his students, more than four hundred in number, broke their pens and their inkhorns and allowed a full year to elapse before they resumed their studies.

The *Irshād* is divided into thirty-five chapters, dealing with knowledge and its use; the nature and attributes and Names of God; human actions, including a discussion of determination and free-will; the prophetic mission; miracles; the resurrection and eternal life; repentance, and human sovereignty.

The author is concerned throughout to refute the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites and other schismatics and to uphold the orthodox view, being himself an outstanding adherent of the Ash'arite school of scholastic theology. He also attacks the Christian doctrine of the Godhead (cf. Chapter v. Section 9 and Chapter vi), and missionary students should be interested in reading his arguments.

The Imam's teaching on the Nature of God, both what He is and what He is not (the latter suggestive of the Neoplatonic doctrine of the One, Who is most fittingly described by negatives) leads up to an interesting discussion of the Unity of God, the Eternal Will and the Divine Word.

One of the most suggestive chapters in the book is that on Re-

pentance (Chapter xxix), which has much in common with the Christian doctrine. The author points out that the word itself (*tawba*) signifies "return," and means turning the back on sin and turning towards God. True penitence must include sorrow for coming short of what is due to God, and regret that what has been done was not left undone, and it must include also the resolve not to return again to sin. Contrition, he holds, is obligatory upon man, and it may concern exclusively what is due to God, for a sin committed against Him alone, or what is due to one's fellowmen. It is possible to repent without making restitution, e. g., the murderer may offer repentance to God without submitting to human punishment; on the other hand, the thief's repentance is worth nothing without restitution of what he has stolen. A penitent who falls again into sin must not despair, but renew his repentance and trust to the divine mercy.

The book is worth serious study by those interested in orthodox Muslim theology, and the French translation is scholarly and readable. The Arabic text is well and clearly printed, in the Maghribi script. The book is without an index, which would have added considerably to its value for students.

London. MARGARET SMITH.

Abd Al-Kadir Guilani (1077-1166). Par Mehmmed Ali Aini en collaboration avec F. J. Simore-Munir. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1938. fr. 75.

This volume forms one of a series on Great Representatives of the Orient, and as one of the greatest of Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, founder of an order of which the members are found today throughout Islam, from Morocco to Malaysia, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī is fully worthy of a place in the series, and this detailed study of his life and teaching will be very welcome to all who live and work in the "House of Islam."

The first part of the book deals with 'Abd al-Qādir's background and his life. Born in Gilan in A. D. 1077, 'Abd al-Qādir went as a youth to Baghdad, arriving there just at the time when Ghazālī left it, abandoning his brilliant career for the sake of devoting himself to the religious life; this event, which caused a great stir in the city, must have made a deep impression on the young student. After a long period of study, travel and self-discipline, through which he came to a direct experience of God, 'Abd al-Qādir felt himself called upon to preach his faith and, in spite of opposition and ridicule, his personality and teaching so impressed his hearers that some thirty-three years after he had first arrived in Baghdad, he was appointed to a professorship, and gathered round him a large circle of disciples. He died at Baghdad in A. D. 1166, and his tomb there became a centre of pilgrimage, to which thousands of pilgrims have made their way, to seek the blessing of the dead saint.

He is reckoned as the patron saint of Baghdad and not only did his followers ascribe to him powers almost divine, but he himself believed that he was appointed by God to be the *Ghawth,* the spiritual *Quṭb* (Axis), the head of the hierarchy of the saints. According to Ṣūfī doctrine the *Ghawth* is the mediator between God and man, by means of whom the universe is kept in being, whose authority ex-

tends over all created things, both in the visible and the invisible world. By means of him God's gifts, including life itself, are bestowed upon His creatures: he is the essence of man, the final cause of creation. He combines the attributes of the Logos, being the perfect image of God, and of the Spirit, giving life and sanctification to all.

The second part of this book gives an account of the *Shaykh's* religious faith and his teaching, including six of his sermons, and his mystical doctrine.

Ṣūfism he considered to be a disposition of the soul, depending upon eight prophetic virtues: generosity, exemplified by Abraham; resignation, of which Isaac was the type; patience, as shown by Job; the manifestation of the divine power, as in the case of Zacharias (father of the Baptist, who was miraculously struck dumb); the adoption of the woollen robe (the mark of consecration) and solitude, accepted by John the Baptist; travel (i. e., homelessness) of which Jesus was the exemplar; and poverty, such as that of Muḥammad.

The Ṣūfī's business is to gain control of the lower self, to purify the soul and to acquire virtue, and 'Abd al-Qādir's advice on the Ṣūfī's duty to God and man has its value for the Christian, too. The Ṣūfī, he says, should speak no evil of others, nor despise his neighbor, and he should ridicule none. He should not be attracted by what is unlawful, should speak only the truth, avoid spiritual pride, and spend his wealth for the good of others, without seeking glory for himself; he should pray continually and follow "the strait way" in accordance with the teachings of his faith. The purpose of the sanctified life is only to know God and to contemplate Him, and, to 'Abd al-Qādir, contemplation is the prayer of one who is conscious of the abiding Presence of God, realizing that the divine Light is round about him and dwelling within him.

An interesting chapter includes the Shaykh's definition of certain Ṣūfī terms. Of the Beatific Vision (*ru'ya*) he said that it was the contemplation, by spiritual insight, of the radiance of the divine Beauty, which God manifests to His servants. Love to God he described as an intoxication, a thing incalculable, not the result of effort, but spontaneous, overwhelming, leaving the lover blind to all save the Object of his love, conscious only of His glory and His majesty, finding no satisfaction save in the presence and contemplation of the divine Beloved. Gnosis, intuitive knowledge (*ma'rifa*) he defines as recognition of the inner meaning of things; it is to see in all reality the proof of God's existence and to grasp the truth that God, Who is eternal, immortal, is continually manifesting Himself under different forms. Of the grace of God (*tawfīq*), 'Abd al-Qādir said that no one can hinder it nor interfere with its effect. Nothing can touch its purity nor diminish its grandeur. The only condition on which we can hope to obtain it is faith, our belief that God is eternally gracious.

Of the creation of man 'Abd al-Qādir wrote: "How wonderful a thing is the creation of man and how profound and admirable the wisdom of the Creator as manifested therein. If he could but subdue his passions, man, because of his reason, would be as the angels. This bodily vesture which covers him is like a veil under which the

soul, as a young bride, hides herself from the regard of strangers, for the human soul is so fair a thing that the angels (at its first creation) marvelled thereat, for God has greatly honoured it.[1] Man is so endowed that he belongs as much to the spiritual as to the material world" (p. 191).

'Abd al-Qādir was a poet, leaving many verses in both Arabic and Persian, and we have here a number of translations from his mystical poems.

The book includes a full account of the Qādiriyya order, its different branches and its form of initiation and ritual. A list of 'Abd al-Qādir's writings, amounting to some sixty works, is also given. There is a good bibliography, but no index, a regrettable omission. The book is well printed and produced: Among minor errors, note (1) on p. 14 is misplaced and misprinted and the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* is attributed to Abu'l-Sarrāj instead of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (p. 16).

This is a thoroughly interesting and scholarly book, which can be recommended to the attention of all students of Ṣūfism and Islam.

London. MARGARET SMITH.

The Rise of the Ottoman Empire. By Paul Wittek. Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XXIII. The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1938. pp. viii+54.

The problem of the origin of the Ottoman Turks and of their growth from petty Anatolian princes to great world emperors has engaged the attention of several first-rate historians in recent years, e. g., Tschudi in 1930, Langer and Blake in 1931, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü in 1935. The surveys which these scholars have published have made it possible for students who do not control the source material to realize what important advances have been made by the specialists in the investigation of the significant early periods of Ottoman history. In the present slender but potent volume (three lectures delivered at the University of London in 1937) Paul Wittek, one of the inner circle of Turkish specialists, has distilled his own and his colleagues' latest researches into an eminently readable and lucid account of the whole question from the period of the infiltration of the Oghuz tribes into Asia Minor down to the fall of Constantinople and the birth of the Ottoman Empire under Mehmed II. Wittek and Köprülü are certainly the two outstanding living inquirers into the early history of Turkish Anatolia, and it is singularly satisfying to find that both these scholars can not only perform the difficult critical spade-work but also furnish a wider public with digestible condensations of their researches. The Royal Asiatic Society is to be congratulated on its good judgment in making these lectures available in book form.

In the first lecture the author examines and criticises the popular traditions with regard to the origin of the Ottoman ruling family, and concludes that the hitherto accepted accounts of the descent of the Ottomans from specific Oghuz tribes are the invention of a "romantic" movement in Turkish historiography during the 15th century; he differs with Köprülü who still ascribes to the Ottomans an

[1] We are reminded of Psalm viii:4, 5, "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? For Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour."

origin within the Qayï-Oghuz tribe (*Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman,* p. 86). The kernel of the truth is in Aḥmedi's versified chronicle, where Wittek finds the evidence that corroborates his plausible thesis that the "unity of the Ottoman state . . . cannot be found in natural tribal connections, but must have been built upon another basis." This basis was the confraternity of *Ghāzīs,* or champions of Islam. In his second chapter the author develops this conception with an exposition of the importance of the Byzantine-Turkish "marches" and the significant role the *uj* or "frontier" Turkomans played in the growth of the Seljūq state and, later, in the development of the minor principalities contemporary with the beginnings of the Ottoman kingdom. It was during this latter period that the Mongol invasion gave the impetus for a resurgence of *Ghāzī* vigor, and to the Ottoman champions flocked other *Ghāzīs* and elements of population displaced by the Mongols, Seljūq exiles, and holy men from the Middle East.

The last lecture, "From the Emirate of the March-Warriors to the Empire," traces the gradual absorption by the Ottomans of the other Anatolian emirates, underlines the significance of *futuwwa,* the *Akhis,* and other conventions of knighthood as a part of the *Ghāzī* institution, and follows the Ottomans through their early conquests in Europe and the catastrophe of Bayezid's defeat by Timur at Angora. The reviewer doubts that full credence can be given to Wittek's thesis that "Timur's behaviour [in withdrawing after re-establishing the *Ghāzī* emirates which Bayezid had taken over] must be understood as a demonstration to the public opinion of Islam that by his intervention in Asia Minor he desired nothing more than to recall to the Ottomans their real task—that is, the Ghāzī idea, which they were beginning to renounce"; but it is certainly true that after Bayezid the *Ghāzī* element did again assert itself, and with Murad II and Mehmed II the Ottomans marched rapidly forward toward empire.

Copious references are given to the author's monographs where full documentation of his researches is to be found, notably: *Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter (Festschrift Georg Jacob), Das Fürstentum Mentesche (Istanbuler Mitteilungen), Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie (Byzantion, X), Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum (Byzantion, XI), Der Stammbaum der Osmanen (Der Islam, XIV),* and the forthcoming *De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople* (lectures in Paris in 1938).

Institute for Advanced Study, GEORGE C. MILES.
Princeton, N. J.

Some Aspects of Muslim Administration. By R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc. (London). Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1936. pp. iv+408.

Dr. Tripathi of the Allahabad University has given us in this special study of an important phase of the history of Islam in India, an interesting and painstaking account of Islam in certain of its political aspects. Naturally, adaptations to the peculiar conditions of the environment have had to be made in India, as elsewhere, in the spread of Muslim sovereignty, and in this particular instance the

writer has attempted "to trace the vicissitudes of the two important institutions—the Sultanat, or sovereignty, and the Vizarat (Wizarat)."

The period covered is a long one, from the founding of the Ghaznavid sultanat in the 11th century to the close of the reign of Akbar in the 16th. With care, and a wealth of interesting detail he proceeds to show how both the theory and practice of Sultanat and Vazirat were modified, until in Akbar we find a blending of both the old and new conceptions.

The author makes it clear that the Muslim Sultan did not come merely for conquest, but with the idea of establishing "a well-defined religion, a highly developed civilization, and a set of institutions, to which he clung with all his faith. Indeed, it was an avowed principle with him to maintain their purity and to establish them in lands under his sway." He goes on to show how the various sovereigns in India usually sought the favor of the Khalifa of the period to confirm them in their sultanates, ending with Akbar who in fact regarded himself as a *de facto* Khalifa.

Two of the most interesting and important chapters deal with The Revenue System (Under the Slaves); and Reconstruction and Reform. The work of Akbar, in the organization of his government, was so practical and modern that much of the system of revenue administration is substantially in force today in India under British rule, four hundred years later!

The student of Indian history cannot well neglect this important book. It is exceedingly well documented, and has a number of important appendices, and a good index.

Budaun, U. P., India. MURRAY T. TITUS.

Ostturkistan zwischen den Grossmächten; ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftskunde Ostturkistans. By Fuad Kazak. Osteuropäische Forschungen, N.F., Vol. 23, Königsberg (Pr.) and Berlin, 1937. pp. 160.

This is a book indispensable to everyone who wishes to know the facts about the political situation in Central Asia, and to see below the surface of the changes which are taking place in that part of the world.

The author has treated his material collected from many different, chiefly Russian, sources in a way to give a trustworthy survey of the political movements and the economic measures in Eastern Turkestan, viz., the Chinese province of Sinkiang. According to the introduction the work does not pretend to exhaust its topics but aims to aid further investigations of the subjects dealt with. And there is no doubt that Dr. Kazak's book will stand as a solid foundation for further work on such things as population, political development, agricultural management, cattle-breeding and nomadic life, hunting, mining, trade and communications, etc., in Sinkiang. He presents statistics and tabulated statements bearing witness to a country of great possibilities for rich development in the future.

There is no wonder that a territory like this has stirred up rivalry between the Great Powers, and the real and most interesting point in the presentment is no doubt to be found in the positive statements given as to the incidents regarding this rivalry between

Russia and Japan. The exposé of the Russian aggressiveness against any advantage of other powers (England and Japan), and its treatment of China is a remarkable unveiling of a plain truth hitherto very little known and hardly believed when told by eyewitnesses of the fact. The result, however, is that Russia secured an exclusive position in every respect in the Chinese province of Sinkiang during and after the civil war of 1930-34. There is no longer a question of opposed British and Russian interests but of a Russian frontier guard against Japan.

The informed reader cannot, however, avoid astonishment at the fact that the author has so carefully passed by in silence the obvious influence on the education and the material and intellectual development of the Eastern Turkestan people which the Christian mission has exercised during the last thirty or forty years. This inadvertence is rather difficult to explain, as more than one of the authors referred to have given information concerning the existence and work of the mission. On page 17, note 43, we have the strange information that the Chinese government has obstructed every educational effort in Turki, and that not a single printing office ever existed in the province. The real state of the case is that the Swedish Mission without any obstruction by the Chinese authorities managed three and sometimes five schools during about forty years with teaching entirely carried on in Eastern Turki. When the new government after the civil war was going to establish Turki schools all over the country there was a great need of teachers. The want was supplied by the engagement of boys and girls who had been educated in the Swedish schools. As to the "not existing" printing office, the Swedish Mission Press has been going at full speed since 1912, printing among other things the school books on geography, history, mathematics, language, etc., used in all Turki schools of any real standing in every part of the province. The author cannot be supposed to know how the presence of oil was discovered in the Mingyol mountains (pp. 48, 50), but it might be mentioned here that this was done by Swedish missionaries in 1897, and at the time was demonstrated before the Chinese authorities in Kashgar. The Christian mission in Eastern Turkestan has unquestionably so closely influenced not only the common religious thinking but also the general progress of civilization, as well as the economic and social development, that a comprehensive and unprejudiced examination of these problems cannot come to its own without an acknowledgment of this contribution.

Another gap in the presentation is obvious to any reader conversant with the subject, in that the author in connection with his otherwise praiseworthy positive and correct account of the political situation makes not the slightest allusion to the devastating behavior of the Russian anti-god campaign aiming at Mohammedanism as well as Christianity. This religious persecution is one of the most weighty reasons for the remarkable fact that the Turki inhabitants of the country are going about with a deep longing in their hearts for the supposed deliverer—Japan.

Some mistakes are scarcely worth mentioning, as, for instance, when it is stated (p. 27) that river-water should be called *kara su,* black water, and subsoil—and spring-water *ak su,* white-water. As

a matter of fact the natives call the last mentioned *kara su,* black water and river-water *ak su,* white water, or *kizil su,* red water, according to the color of loam in it.

At the end of the book the author has appended a survey of treaties made with or concerning Eastern Turkestan (since this ends in 1931, the very important treaty with USSR of Jan. 1936 is lacking), and statistical tables on foreign commerce, and finally a most valuable bibliography.

The book is worth careful study and wide circulation among all who want to know how matters stand at present in that almost unknown portion of Central Asia.

Lund, Sweden. G. RAQUETTE.

The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Disturbances in Palestine, 1834. By Asad J. Rustum. The American Press, Beirut, 1938. pp. 82.

What were the causes of the disturbances in Palestine in 1834? This is what Professor Rustum sets out to ascertain. He has had free access to the Royal archives at Cairo. One would, therefore, expect "the point of view of Cairo," which the author promised to present, to be fully set forth. The causes of the disturbances, according to the author, are found in the unfavorable attitude of Moslem public opinion towards Ibrāhīm Pasha's innovations, the hostility of the land lords who were fearful of losing out to a strong and centralized government, the too modern nature and orientation of the Egyptian administration in the country, and finally in the institution of the conscription. Perhaps because of his self-limitation to "the point of view of Cairo," the author fails to find anything which might enable the student to hold either the Sublime Porte or the Russian government responsible for the disturbances. He would also make Britain and British diplomacy, in those years of political horse-trading and intrigue, disinterested and neutral observers. One cannot be so sure. Concerning the responsibility of the Powers there is, if we may borrow the words of the author himself, "ample ground for pause and reflection."

The author's treatment of proper names is short of expectation. A person unfamiliar with the Arabic original has no way of telling that the representative of the Ṭūqān family (p. 23), was not the namesake of the author, i. e., Asad. His name was As'ad. It is only where proper names have been naturalized in English that they could retain their Anglicized form. Otherwise they should conform to a consistent system of transliteration. Thus while the use of Cairo, Nazareth, and Jaffa, etc., is legitimate, there is no justification for the use of such forms as Nablus, Anazah, Zib, Sanur, and Dayr-al-Ghusun, etc. These should be Nābulus, 'Anazah, Zīb, Sānūr, and Dayr al-Ghuṣn respectively. The same thing is true of the names of persons.

A little more careful reading of the proofs would have eliminated a number of unnecessary errors (p. 24, line 1, 23 should be 20; p. 26, line 10, ul-Hadi should be al-Hadi; p. 70, line 10, Shakh should be Shaykh; p. 72, line 2, Day should be Dayr). An index would have been a useful addition.

Princeton University, NABIH AMIN FARIS.
Princeton, N. J.

Ibn-al-Sā'āti. *Dīwān.* Edited by Anis E. Khuri (al-Makdisi). The American Press, Beirut, 1938. pp. 310.

This is the first volume of an important collection of original poems by a well-known but hitherto neglected poet, a contemporary of such illustrious figures as Saladin and Usāmah ibn-Munqidh. This in itself should make the study of his poetry both interesting and profitable, despite the painful fact that, like the greater part of Arabic poetry in all ages, it is almost exclusively devoted to eulogy and love.

Professor Khuri had access to four manuscripts, two of which are now in the collection of the American University of Beirut, while the remaining two represent the copies of the St. Sophia Library, Istanbul, and the Khedivial Library, Cairo, respectively. One of the Beirut MSS. dates back to A. H. 616, twelve years after the poet's death. The St. Sophia copy has been made the basis of the present edition.

Judging from a collation of the sample page of the second Beirut MS., reproduced on page 6, with its corresponding part in the present edition, on page 288, Professor Khuri must have depended solely upon the St. Sophia MS. for the reconstruction of the text. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the nine variations on that page which the editor failed to mention in the notes as he had promised to do, in his introduction. This is rather unfortunate, because at least three of these variations give a better reading than the one decided upon by the editor. Thus on page 288, verse 6, the text reads *tathmīriha* while the MS. gives *ta'mīriha*; verse 13, the text reads *ḥukmiha* while the MS. gives *ḥimliha*; and verse 14, the text reads *bittu aḍmuruhu* while the MS. gives *anta taḍmuruhu*.

On the English titlepage the date of the poet is given in both the Hijrah and the Christian years. The Hijrah dates are correct, but their Christian equivalent is wrong. A. H. 553-604 correspond to A. D. 1158-1208, and *not* to 1159-1209. The work as a whole is, however, well executed. It is the more welcome because the poems of ibn-al-Sā'āti have hitherto remained unpublished. Professor Khuri is, therefore, to be heartily congratulated on this publication. It is earnestly hoped that he will soon favor us with the second volume.

Princeton University, NABIH AMIN FARIS.
Princeton, N. J.

A Working Faith for the World. By Hugh Vernon White. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1938. pp. 209. $2.

Dr. White, an official of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, writes as a Christian missionary and philosopher. He divides the book into three sections: "Christianity a World Faith," "Christianity at Work" and "Objectives of Christianity." In the first section he makes brief comments on Islam and other faiths, in the chapters on "The Role of Religion in Human Life," and "The Effect of Religion on Civilization."

Quoting Charles R. Watson's statement, "Islam can be truly described as totalitarian," Dr. White draws a concise picture of the modern totalitarian state, and observes: "This is a new and rather appalling thing in political government; but it is really as old as

Islam." This reviewer would note that a number of nations were totalitarian in principle and practice, prior to the rise of Islam.

The author defines Islam as a political state, a theology, a philosophy, a legal and social system, and a literary and artistic culture. Two of Islam's difficulties have been the problem of adjusting a conservative, reactionary religion to changing civilizations in Asia, Africa and Europe, and the loss of independence and sovereignty by Moslem states. The belief in fatalism "paralyzes personal effort and tends to social stagnation." Today, "most Moslems are subject to nominally Christian states . . . The last vestige of Islam as a government has disappeared." Islam is said to have all the strength and all the spiritual futility of a religion "whose relation to human life is one of legal prescription in regard to belief and worship and all forms of personal and social conduct."

In discussing the Christian movement, Dr. White says that its two "poles" are the Church, and the general influence of Christian ideas and ideals. The "goals" of Christianity in history are Christian Truth, Christian Personality, and Christian Community. For Christians, Jesus is the Truth. Dr. White writes as a liberal, pleading for freedom in religious study, thought and experience. With regard to Islam, "it would be a wholesome thing for Moslems to subject the Koran and the development of their doctrine and the course of their history to a scholarly treatment as competent and as objective as that which has served so well the cause of truth in Christianity."

The meaning of personality, the author claims, finds its truest embodiment in Jesus. In Islam the idea of personality encounters the freedom-denying misconception of "the arbitrary and absolute sovereignty of God."

The fullest expression of the meaning of true community or fellowship is to be found in Jesus' idea of the Kingdom of God. The three basic conditions for the realization of the ideals of the Kingdom are intellectual liberty, democracy, and government by law.

Dr. White, a well trained philosopher, has had personal contacts with members of many faiths. His book is primarily an interpretation of and a program for world Christianity. His comments on Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam are necessarily brief and incomplete, in accordance with the plan of the book. "A Working Faith for the World" will hearten Christian missionaries, and help them to do their work and present their message with new vigor and confidence. Christian ministers and laymen who read the book will find themselves re-thinking their religion, and winning a vision of "a society of free men whose bond of unity is the inner motive of a transformed individual." Written in an age of baffle-ment and defeat, the book sounds a note of hope and victory.

Bristol, Conn. FRANCIS T. COOKE.

The Renascence of Religion, being the proceedings of the third meeting of the World Congress of Faiths at Cambridge in 1938. London, Probsthain, 1938. 7/6.

The interest of this volume is rather in the movement it represents than in the actual content of the speeches recorded. For it

is obvious that when speeches about the viewpoints of a number of different religions are all to be included in a book of less than 200 pages, each speaker is given a quite inadequate space in which to develop his theme. For instance, the subject of Islam is dealt with in eleven and a half pages by Sir Abdul Qadir. A speech of that length is insufficient to give any clear idea of what Islam stands for. There are, however, things in religion that go beyond and deeper than any formal presentation of doctrine. No one could meet Sir Abdul Qadir without feeling, not only the grace of his personality, but also the sincerity of his religion, and his zeal for moral reformation of the world. And that is exactly, one would imagine, the impression anyone who had not met him before would gain from hearing or reading this speech. Perhaps it would not be unfair to give as the distinguishing marks of the World Congress of Faiths these two points, the sincerity of each member in the religion he holds, and a zeal for the moral reformation of the world. There is a marked difference from the attitude of the comparative study of religions. The latter is of necessity critical, and looks not for resemblances only but also for differences in religions, and in many cases the differences revealed are striking. Those on the other hand who join in the World Congress of Faiths do so in order to emphasize what all followers of religion have in common as opposed to the materialist and the secularist. It was naturally from this point of view that most of the speakers chose the material for their addresses. A strong desire to appreciate rather than to criticize was evident throughout the Congress, and perhaps showed itself most remarkably in the discussion that followed a paper on Tibetan Lamaism in which the reader drew the conclusion that "Lamaism, instead of being a chaos of nonsensical superstitions, is, in its essence, one of the highest religions."

Blisworth, England L. E. Browne.

The Origin and Evolution of the Semitic Alphabets. By Abram Setsuzau Kotsuji, B.D., Th.D. Tokyo, Japan, Kuo Bun Kwan, 1937. pp. xiv, 229.

We have offered to us here what is probably the most comprehensive discussion of the Semitic alphabet which has yet been published. It was largely prepared under the instruction of the late Prof. W. F. Bade of the Pacific School of Religion, from which institution the author received the degree of Doctor of Theology. He is now Director of the Institute of Biblical Research in Tokyo, and this volume was published in Japan in sumptuous fashion. There are a few errors, grammatical and typographical, but not so many as one might expect under the circumstances.

The historical method is properly used in the first part of the work. Formerly there were three possibilities as to the origin of the alphabet. It might have been derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphic, the Babylonian cuneiform, or the Cretan script. Each had its proponents but the arguments for none of these were altogether convincing. The question has shifted ground in recent years because of the new discoveries in Sinai and at Ras Shamra. A historical survey becomes more complicated therefore, but the matter is simplified in the end.

Dr. Kotsuji discusses quite briefly the "Babylonian-Assyrian Hypothesis" since there is no longer anything to be said in its behalf. The early Phenician inscriptions and the cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra are both brought under the head of the "Cypriote-Cretan Hypothesis", which is a questionable proceeding but is apparently done for the sake of simplification. The "Egyptian-Sinaitic Hypothesis" centers around the inscriptions at Serabit in Sinai. These are reproduced in full, following Butin, and a careful study of the whole development is made. Particularly there is a section which takes up the letters one by one, giving the probable meaning and a comparison with other pertinent forms.

Part II gives extended "Paleographical Observations" on both the northern and the southern branches of the Semitic alphabet. The author's point of view, which may be commended, is that the South Semitic alphabet was probably borrowed separately from the Sinaitic and was not a development of the North Semitic. We would also agree that the Ras Shamra alphabet is merely a local practice which does not enter into the general development. There are many tables here as in the earlier part which enable the reader to give careful attention to a comparison of the forms used in different languages, and to trace the sometimes quite intelligible, and sometimes very curious, changes that took place in the forms of the letters.

A certain amount of repetition occurs, but this makes it easier to follow the reasoning in each section. Altogether it is a very useful book, although it will need to be supplemented by the new discoveries which are still occurring in this field.

Hartford, Conn. ELBERT C. LANE.

Doughty's English. By Walt Taylor. S.P.E. Tract No. LI. Oxford University Press, 1939. pp. 46.

"Doughty's English", by Professor Walt Taylor of the University of Egypt in Cairo, will interest Arabists because Arabic furnished Doughty with the style of his incomparable *Arabia Deserta,* just as Arabian poetry suggested to Tennyson and Browning the forms and subjects of some of their best poems.

It was his literary and linguistic investigations into the origins of the English language that led Doughty into Arabia, an ultimate source of the religious heritage of the English people. In the desert, Doughty found his ideal language.

Professor Taylor's treatise describes the characteristics of this desert Arabic. Then Doughty's use of Arabic and other uncommon words is carefully analyzed and an index of the words is provided to serve as a glossary for terms not recorded in the dictionaries.

The pamphlet is a unique and illuminating study of the influence of Arabic upon English literature's peerless travel book.

Hartford, Connecticut EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

Four Strange Tongues from South Arabia: the Hadara Group. By Bertram Thomas. London; Humphrey Milford, 1938. 7/6. (In U. S. A., Oxford University Press. $3.50.)

At the time of Muḥammad the ancient civilization, which had flourished for some fifteen centuries in South Arabia, if not for

much longer, had almost passed away. There were tales and legends current in the Ḥijāz as to the former glories of the great Kingdoms to the South, but their history was lost, the language fast being replaced by the North Arabic, and the people, under Persian overlordship, no longer counted for anything in the life of Arabia. Later when the Muslim antiquaries came to be interested in South Arabia fancy had to take the place of fact, and it was only the gathering and interpretation of epigraphic material from South Arabia in our own day, which enabled us to supplement the accounts of the Greek writers and picture again something of that ancient civilization.

The language of South Arabia, however, never entirely died out, and in the early years of the twentieth century the German South Arabian Expedition brought back material that was studied by Dr. D. H. Müller and Dr. M. Bittner. This study has been taken up anew by Dr. Bertram Thomas, who has utilized his journeys in that area to collect more material from the four dialects of the Hadara group—the Shahari, Mahri, Harsusi and Botahari —all of which are spoken by dwindling communities, and seem destined to die out ere long before the force of the dominant Arabic.

Dr. Thomas gives us some description of the speakers of these tongues and the area within which they are spoken, but the main part of the book is taken up with grammatical notes, sentences illustrating the construction, and a comparative vocabulary. Its interest, of course, is to the philologist, but there is much in these dialects which is intriguing to the Arabist, for whom Prof. Marcel Cohen adds a philological note.

The material is reprinted from Vol. xxiii of the Proceedings of the British Academy, and has been beautifully produced by the Oxford Press.

Columbia University,
New York City ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Sheba's Daughters: Being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia. By H. St. J. B. Philby, with an appendix on the rock inscriptions by A. F. L. Beeston. Methuen & Co., London. pp. 485. 21s.

The author is among the best known of the post-war explorers of Arabia because of his earlier books, *The Empty Quarter, The Heart of Arabia,* and *Arabia of the Wahhabis,* which all had most favorable reception. He is in a class by himself also because he became a Moslem, lives at Mecca, and, after eighteen years of Government service for Great Britain, is now the official adviser of King Ibn Sa'ud and believes that "British Political penetration of Arabia has already gone further than it should have done." This anti-British, pro-Islamic viewpoint obtrudes itself in the narrative and especially in "the unorthodox prelude" to a great travel-book. Neither the title nor the sub-title does justice to the extraordinarily interesting contents of the volume. Mr. Philby is the first European to have crossed Arabia from North to South, from Mecca to the Indian Ocean, and the first explorer to visit Shabwa, the ancient capital of the Himyarites, and bring back

copies of numerous graffiti and Nabatean and Sabaean inscriptions. These latter are transliterated and translated in a special appendix by A. F. L. Beeston of Oxford and date *circa* 115 B. C.

Begun from the southern outpost of Ibn Sa'ud's territory in Nejran, the outward journey extended to Shabwa and thence eastward to Hadhramaut and down the valley to the Indian Ocean at Shihr. The return journey after Shabwa included zigzag excursions into the Land of Uz and the Land of Sheba. There is a full description of Abha, the capital of Nejran and a detailed account of the ancient ruins of Shabwa, with its irrigation dams, and the temple of Astarte. Mr. Philby also describes the ancient Incense Road by which traffic in spices crossed the Peninsula long before the Christian era. In a chapter on the Pilgrim Road he proves the practicability of motor journeys across the desert from Nejran to Tarim and Shihr. "So it is now actually possible to travel by car from Mukalla to Mecca or Damascus or London." From the coast to Mecca would be a ten-days' journey of 1500 kilometres at a cost of sixty gallons of petrol per car, so that thousands instead of hundreds could make the pilgrimage more easily and cheaply than by sea (pp. 153, 182). Mr. Philby made the entire journey in two motor-cars, accompanied by camels, a large escort, with instruments, radio-outfit, and abundance of ready money and stores. He had behind him the goodwill and prestige of his royal master, and nevertheless there was abundance of difficulty because of the recalcitrant Arabs, sand-storms, and accidents to the cars; twice the rear axles broke and punctures were frequent. Yet it was in every sense a triumph over obstacles. When on his return to Nejran he stowed away the spoils, ornithological, geological, and archaeological, brought back, he declares: "I ruminated the packed memories of those two months full of achievement since I had set forth into an unknown world renowned for strife and turbulence. And here I had come through it all with many new friends to think of gratefully and never a discordant note but the growling of Aden. It had indeed been one long triumph, and here I lay for the last night in a land which, so far as I know, had only once before been seen by European eyes."

One cannot help contrasting the explorations of Doughty, who crossed and recrossed the deserts of Central Arabia in utter loneliness, penniless, and without any outfit save his camel-bags and his indomitable courage and Christian fortitude. Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* was written in a peculiar style. Philby does not imitate it, but seems to go out of his way in the use of unfamiliar or uncouth words, e.g., Coolth, gobs, dowser, syncline, nigger (*bis*), awoken, scree, kissish, wharts, divots, highish, etc.

The photographic illustrations are excellent, but the map, as the author himself laments, is of far too small a size and in such microscopic type that the reader cannot trace the places mentioned in the text.

S. M. Zwemer.

CURRENT TOPICS

Shahrastānī's Exposition (Tafsīr) of the Qur'ān

Modern criticism of the Qur'ān may be substantially advanced by the study of the valuable manuscript of Shahrastānī's *Tafsīr,* which is in the national library at Teheran. It is listed in the "Catalogue des Manuscrits persans et arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de théologie et de philosophie de l'Iran", vol. I, p. 39, (No. 78). Muhammadan authorities have occasionally referred to "the introduction to Shahrastānī's *Tafsīr*". This *Tafsīr* has been mentioned in Brockelmann's "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur", Supplementband I, p. 763. It is not mentioned in Cureton's preface to his edited text of Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal,* nor in the recent article on *Shahrastānī* in the Encyclopædia of Islam.

At the suggestion of Dr. Arthur Jeffery, and with the kind assistance of Dr. A. G. Ghani in Teheran, an examination of this manuscript has been made, which reveals the fact that Shahrastānī's *Tafsīr* does have an introduction (*muqaddimah*) of fifty-two pages, but better still, the material that is included in the text itself is obviously in the nature of a general introduction to the whole subject of the history and exposition of the Qur'ān. There are 381 pages of the text (*matn*), which is divided into twelve sections (*fuṣūl*), with the following headings:

1. The first and the last revelations of the Qur'ān and the period during which revelation extended.
2. The method of the compilation of the Qur'ān.
3. The difference in the reports (*ikhtilāf al-rawāt*) as to the order of the revelation of the sūras.
4. In regard to the variant readings (*al-qirā'āt*) of the Qur'ān.
5. The requirements of the reciter (*al-qārī*) of the Qur'ān.
6. The number of the sūras of the Qur'ān.
7. The enumeration of the Companions (*al-ṣaḥāba*) who were exegetes (*mufassirūn*).
8. The precise meaning of *tafsīr* (exposition) and of *ta'wīl* (analysis or allegorizing).
9. On verses which are of general application (*'umūm*) and those of particular application (*khuṣūṣ*), on the authoritative (*muḥkam*) and the figurative (*mutashābih*) verses, and on the abrogating (*nāsikh*) and abrogated (*mansūkh*) verses.
10. On the regulations that had already been in existence and those which were innovations, and on the removal of contradictions and difficulties.
11. On the inimitable sublimity of the Qur'ān in regard to its

naẓm (style), its *faṣāḥa* (elegance), its *jazāla* (clearness of language), its *balāgha* (rhetorical quality) and *hidāyat* (religious guidance).

12. Necessary conditions (*sharā'iṭ*) for the exposition of the Qur'ān.

Meshed, Iran. DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

Orphans in Palestine

As a result of disturbances, which have lasted for three years, there are now a great number of orphans in the Holy Land, not less than several thousands. Many of these are now supported by relatives or neighbours who are themselves in great need; some have been taken in the normal way into existing institutions of the country: but the majority are destitute and cannot be provided for by the existing social agencies.

To meet this situation an international committee was formed, at the end of 1938, amongst residents of Jerusalem. This committee issued an appeal, as a result of which several hundred pounds were collected. Arrangements have already been made for placing about forty orphans in local institutions. Temporary relief has also been granted to families in cases where compensation for the loss of a father will, it is expected, be paid in due course by the Government.

The selection of the orphans is entrusted to a sub-committee, of which the Government Welfare Inspector and the Principal Probation Officer are members. Each case is carefully investigated and dealt with on its merits. Race and religion are given due weight in placing the children after selection.

It has been possible for the committee to place a number of children for a sum of L.P. 12 per annum or less, but it has to be recognized that this sum is far from covering the cost, of maintenance and education, to the institutions concerned. Since it will not be possible to continue to place children indefinitely at such a low figure, it is imperative to collect a very much larger sum than is at present available.

The project has the approval of the Palestine Government, and the committee work in close conjunction with the Palestine Administration. The Rev. Eric F. F. Bishop, Principal of the Newman School of Missions, Thabor, Jerusalem, is one of the Secretaries of the Committee.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Abstracta Islamica. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier IV, 1938. pp. 37-153).

An elaborate bibliography including in this issue—History of sciences, Philosophy, Linguistics and pedagogy, Sociology and ethnology, Literature, Dogma, Modernism, European colonization, Mohammedan history, Biography and bibliography.

An Expedition to the Gilf Kebir and 'Uweinat, 1938. Major R. A. Bagnold, R. F. Peel and H. A. Winkler. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 281-313).

Detailed scientific and archaeological account of this Saharan region, where some of the most remarkable prehistoric rock paintings in the world have been found.

From Persian to Arabic. M. Sprengling. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago. April, 1939. pp. 175-224).

Quoting from Persian and Arabic sources, the author shows language changes occurring as early as 640 A.D., illustrated from records of income and expenditure.

Islamic Monuments in Iran. M. B. and K. D. Smith. (In *Asia,* New York. April, 1939. pp. 213-219).

Encouraged by the far-sighted enthusiasm of Riza Shah Pahlevi, historical archæology enjoys unusual opportunities in Iran and a recent, thorough study of the Isfahan Masjid-i Jum'a has revealed much hitherto unknown material in the development of XIth century architecture.

Notes sur la Presse Iranienne. Roger Lescot. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II-III, 1938. pp. 261-277).

Contains a list of magazines and newspapers appearing throughout the country and comments on the educational and cultural trend of the press.

II. ARABIA

The Hadhramaut and its Past. G. Caton Thompson. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1939. pp. 79-92).

Traces the historical background of ancient South Arabia through Biblical and classical sources and describes the results of a recent archaeological expedition near Hureidha.

A Temple in the Hadhramaut. G. Caton Thompson. (In *Asia,* New York. May, 1939. pp. 294-299).

Description of the sanctuary of the Moon God, Sin, built presumably in the 4th century B. C. by the people of Hureidha and showing in its relics marked contacts with the outside world of Egypt, Greece and Persia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Exploration of Ancient Sites in Northern Afghanistan. Evert Barger. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. May, 1939. pp. 377-398).

The cordial cooperation of the French Government greatly facilitated the study of the old towns which were scattered along the well-travelled trade routes of bygone days.

Der Heilige Symeon von Trier. Dr. Peter Thompson. (In *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästine-Vereins,* Leipzig. Band 62, heft 1/2, 1939. pp. 144-161).

Translation of an 11th century manuscript telling of the life and travels of a monk, who wrote of his experiences in the Near East, Egypt and the greater part of Europe.

Introduction à l'Études de l'Islam Indonésien. G. H. Bousquet. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II-III, 1938. pp. 133-259).

Historical article based on material presented by various Dutch writers, especially Snouck Hurgronje, containing much statistical information, notes on religious and social customs and a ten page bibliography.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

The Development of the Meaning of Koranic Ḥanīf. N. A. Faris and Harold W. Glidden. (In *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Vol. XIX, 1939).

"The conclusion seems inescapable that Koranic *ḥanīf*, with all that it implies, must have come via pre-Islam Arabic from the dialect of the Nabataeans, in whose language it meant a follower of some branch of their partially Hellenized Syro-Arabian religion."

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Aus dem Rechtsleben und Religiösen Leben der Beduinen.

G. Dalman. (In *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig. Band 62, heft 1/2, 1939. pp. 52-63).

Bedouin manners and customs, civil and religious, in the neighborhood of Aleppo and northern Syria.

Bedouin of the Negeb. E. Epstein. (In *The Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. April, 1939. pp. 59-73).

Depicts the transition of a pastoral people to settled agriculturists with their attendant problems and difficulties. Contains statistics of population, crops and land ownership.

A Century of Economic Development. A. E. Crouchley. (In *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Février-Mars, 1939. pp. 133-155).

A study of population and production in Egypt from 1837-1937.

Murad and the Lost Feast Day. V. Lane-Frimpole. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. April, 1939. pp. 175-178).

Sketches the life of a young Syrian Arab during the season of Ramadan.

Validité du Waḳf Constitué en Égypte par un Étranger. S. Cadémenos. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Novembre-Décembre, 1938. pp. 449-504).

Examines and discusses the historical and practical sides of this legal ruling.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Administration of the Sudan in 1937. E. N. Corbyn. (In *The Journal of the Royal African Society*, London. April, 1939. pp. 281-288).

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Alliance brought far-reaching feelings of security to the natives and a year of considerable economic prosperity and progress has strengthened their sense of stability.

Arabs in World Politics. Maqbool Aziz. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. May, 1939. pp. 284-286).

Surveys the influence and importance of all the Near Eastern lands.

Le Problème de la Méditerranée. C. K. Webster. (In *L'Esprit International*, Paris. Avril, 1939. pp. 214-233).

Discusses British, French and Italian interests in North Africa and the Levant and the efforts made to secure Moslem support.

La Syrie et ses Relations Commerciales avec L'Égypte. Jean Schatz. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Février-Mars, 1939. pp. 215-246).

A statistical study, with explanatory comments, on present-day trading between these two ancient neighbors.

VII. PALESTINE

ARABS, JEWS AND BRITISHERS. Albert Viton. (In *Asia,* New York. May, 1939. pp. 269-271).

Summarizes all previous plans for Palestinian appeasement and comments unfavorably on Britain's latest scheme for curtailment of Jewish immigration to the country.

PALESTINE: A LEAF TURNED. (In *The Round Table,* London. June, 1939. pp. 457-475).

Detailed account, with documentary extracts, of all efforts toward securing a peaceful Holy Land since 1915.

THE PALESTINE SITUATION: DOCUMENTS. (In *The Contemporary Jewish Record,* New York. May-June, 1939. pp. 49-63).

Contains the text of the Palestine White Paper and several communications by the Jewish Agency for Palestine on various phases of the country's plight.

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (In *The Indian Review,* Madras. June, 1939. pp. 357-359).

A picture of the Holy Land and its difficulties seen through eyes sympathetic to both Arabs and Jews.

THE WOODWARD REPORT AND AFTER. L. Bakstansky. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1939. pp. 93-97).

A strong plea for the sincere, tolerant, reasonable development by Great Britain of the Jewish National Home.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

CHRISTIAN OPPORTUNITY IN IRAN. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. May, 1939. p. 230).

As Persia advances in government, education and economic improvements under the stimulating rule of Shah Riza Khan Pahlevi, an unusual religious leniency is displayed and Christianity is free to preach and teach.

THE CHURCH IN ARABIA SALUTES YOU. Paul W. Harrison. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. May, 1939. pp. 231-232).

Fifty years' loving, prayerful evangelical and medical work has made lasting impressions on many Arabian minds.

A VISIT TO THE YEMEN. The Rev. G. L. Sloan. (In *Life and Work,* Edinburgh. May, 1939. pp. 197-198).

Recounts the events of a trip from Aden to San'a and the opportunities to work among the Yemenite Jews, who have scarcely heard the Christian message.

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